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ABSTRACT

This serial issue contains a special section with five articles all on the subject of "Folk Arts in Education": (1) "Folk Arts-in-Education Programs in New York State" (Kathleen Mundell); (2) "The Cultural Heritage Project: Presenting Traditional Arts in a Suburban Setting" (Kathleen Mundell); (3) "Folk Arts in Newark Valley: An Upstate New York Arts-in-Education Program" (Catherine Schwoeffermann); (4) "Folk Artists in Staten Island Schools: Developing a Workable Model for Larger Communities" (Nancy Groce; Janis Benincasa); and (5) "The Rondout Valley Folklore Project, 1981-Present" (Jane McClure). (NP)

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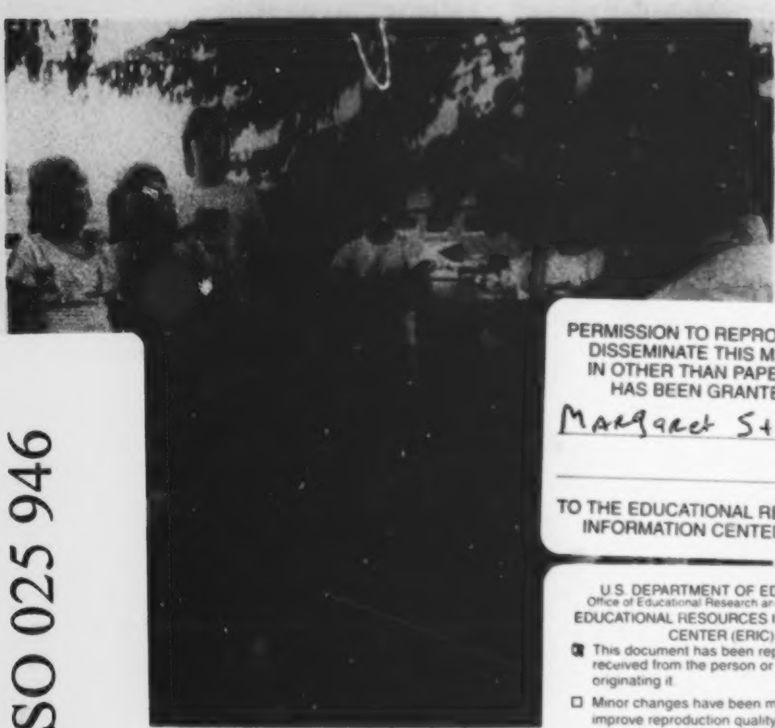
NEW YORK FOLKLORE

Folk Arts in Education



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Summer-Fall, 1987

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NEW YORK FOLKLORE

The Journal of the New York Folklore Society

(succeeds *New York Folklore Quarterly*, 1945-1974)

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Phillips Stevens, Jr., Editor

Vol. XIII, Nos. 3-4
Summer-Fall, 1987

Cover photo: Mark Rust playing the fiddle for fourth grade classes at Newark Valley Middle School. Photo by Bruce Wrighton, courtesy of Roberson Folklife Program.

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Special Section

FOLK ARTS IN EDUCATION

KATHLEEN MUNDELL, GUEST EDITOR

Folk Arts-in-Education Programs in New York State

Throughout New York State, folk artists continue to practice skills and traditions that have been handed down through the generations. Quilting, Irish music, Jewish storytelling, West Indian cooking, wood-carving and Ukrainian egg decorating are just a few of the wide range of traditional arts that are practiced and carried on.

In the classroom, the practitioners of these traditions can give students a vivid first-hand account of a rich and varied cultural heritage. In order to draw upon this legacy, a number of New York schools and cultural organizations have sponsored educational programs which place traditional artists in the school setting.

Many of these "Folk Artists-in-the-Schools" programs follow a similar format. At the beginning of the program, a folklorist, who is trained in the identification and documentation of traditional culture, spends a three to six month period conducting fieldwork in the region in order to identify and select artists for the school program. The folklorist also works with teachers and community members on designing a program that will represent a wide range of traditional skills and offer a comprehensive view of local culture.

In the classroom, the folklorist helps the students prepare for the artists' visits by exploring the history and the traditions of each artist's cultural group. Such preparation helps to amplify the cultural connotations of the artists' presentations.

This introduction is followed by the individual artist's visits, at which time the artist has a chance to share his or her expertise. Many students have the chance to try their own hand at the traditional skill whether it be by cooking an ethnic food dish, learning a dance step or piecing a patchwork quilt. During these visits, students are also prepared to interview the artist in order to find out more about the tradition. Such activities provide direct student involvement and help emphasize the role of the traditional artist as teacher as well as cultural interpreter.

After each artist's presentation, the students are asked to explore their own folkways by documenting their family and ethnic traditions. This "Foxfire" approach to local culture and history is very successful in strengthening an appreciation of the student's own cultural roots as well.

Such "Folk Artists-in-the-Schools" programs seek to blend the type of informal learning that we gain outside of school with the more formal learning of the classrooms. As folklorist Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett suggests such educational experiences validate both types of learning and help students gain insight into their own communities:

> A major factor in effective education is the integration of what is learned in the school with the experiences children have in their homes and communities. An equal challenge is the integration of the culture of the community into the curriculum. While we want our children to be exposed to a variety of art forms and cultures, we do not want them to be alienated from their birthright, their own heritage. And their own heritage is valuable, not only because it is their own, but also because of the importance of a strong indigenous culture to the coherence of community life (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1983:11).

The success of "Folk Artists-in-the-Schools" programs is dependent upon several factors: hiring a professional folklorist to identify and help present the traditional artists, to help shape the program and to work closely with teachers on developing classroom activities; and making sure that there is someone in the school who is responsible for seeing to the details of the program like arranging classroom scheduling, providing volunteer parents to help with classroom projects and familiarizing the artist and folklorist with the school. Perhaps the most important factor crucial to the program's success is creating interest among teachers. Teacher involvement can elevate such folk art presentations out of the realm of "show and tell" and into a true learning experience.

In order to provide information on setting up "Folk Artists-in-the-Schools" programs, the New York Folklore Society, funded by a grant from the New York State Council on the Arts, Folk Arts Program, sponsored a series of seminars in 1986 on the subject of "Folk Arts-in-Education."

The seminars covered such topics as defining the scope of a residency program; finding and selecting folk artists in the community; and developing curriculum materials and class projects. One portion of the program also highlighted existing programs throughout New York State that could serve as models for other schools and cultural institutions. The following articles are descriptions of these programs.

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For Further Information

The majority of folk artists-in-the-schools programs are sponsored by and administered through local or regional arts councils in conjunction with a school district. In New York State, the following agencies can provide further information and possibly funding for folklife and artist-in-the-schools programming:

Artists-in-Residence Programs (including folk arts)

New York Foundation for the Arts
5 Beekman Street
New York, N.Y. 10038
(212) 233-3900

New York State Council on the Arts / Arts-in-Education Program
915 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10038
(212) 614-2900

Folklife and Folk Arts Programming

New York State Council on the Arts / Folk Arts Program
915 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10038
(212) 614-2900

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The Cultural Heritage Project: Presenting Traditional Arts in a Suburban Setting

KATHLEEN MUNDELL

Woodcarver Shirley Williams has only to cross the street in order to visit the fourth grade classes of Lake Road Elementary School in Valley Cottage, New York. When she was a fourth grader, growing up in the neighboring town of Congers, the woods became her place of schooling. Mrs. Williams now shares this knowledge with a new generation of fourth graders by taking them on hikes behind their school grounds.

Shirley Williams is one of the artists featured in the Cultural Heritage Project. Now in its fourth year, the program, sponsored by the Arts Council of Rockland, offers a unique educational experience by placing traditional artists in schools and community settings. Participants in the program have a chance to investigate and appreciate their own and other cultures through traditional arts.

Traditional arts are passed down from one generation to the next and are usually learned in an informal way, either by observation or by example. Such artistic expression, whether it be through music, dance, crafts or food, reflects a group's cultural values and is rooted in a shared way of life.

The artists featured in the Cultural Heritage Project share with their audiences the techniques of their particular art form and a first-hand account of the culture of which they are a part.

Two types of programs are available through the Cultural Heritage Project: Workshops and Residencies. Workshops, which are scheduled for two hour sessions, are especially suitable for such craft presentations as woodcarving, doll making or *pysanky* (Ukrainian egg decorating). Because workshop participants learn the actual technique of a particular traditional art, a small group of students is recommended.

Cultural Heritage Workshops have been used to complement existing school programs. For example, one junior high school scheduled a workshop on local architecture taught by painter Robert Burghardt for its seventh grade art classes. Another school participated in a pysanky workshop while visiting an exhibition on Easter traditions at the Historical Society of Rockland.

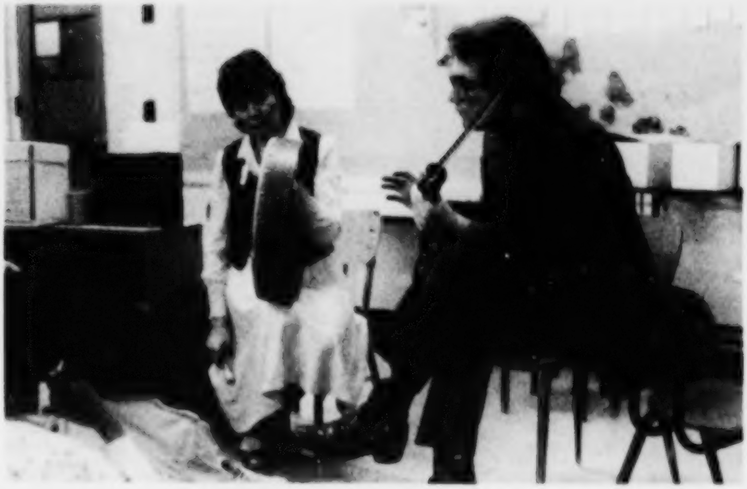

Figure 1
Irish Musicians Kathleen Ludlow and Ed McGowan at Upper Nyack School. Photo by Kathleen Mundell, courtesy of Arts Council of Rockland.

Residency programs are a more in-depth look at one cultural group and its traditional arts. Depending upon the school's or the community organization's needs, a residency program can range from a minimum of three days to a maximum of ten weeks.

Each residency is introduced by the project folklorist. As the program's resource person, the folklorist directs selected classroom activities before and after the artist's visits so that students can gain a better understanding of the cultural connotations of the artists' presentations.

One popular residency program is on Irish culture featuring musicians Ed McGowan and Kathleen Ludlow (Fig. 1). The first day of the program, the folklorist provides background information on the Irish community in Rockland County and discusses the role of traditional music, dance and storytelling in the community. The folklorist [illegible] describes the artists who will be visiting the classroom, usually through a slide and audio presentation.

On the second day, Ed McGowan and Kathleen Ludlow join forces to present a concert of instrumental and vocal traditional music from Ireland. Their performance includes a detailed account of the history and forms of Irish traditional music followed by a demonstration of the accompanying dance steps.

On the third day, McGowan and Ludlow present a session on the rich oral traditions of Ireland. Students have a chance to learn about Irish folktales, mythological figures, nursery rhymes and children's games. At the conclusion of the program, the folklorist returns to discuss the presentations with students and to distribute worksheets and classroom assignments.

Program Planning

One of the satisfactions being involved in the Cultural Heritage Project is to witness the development of a good working relationship between community members. Such programs call for not only the talents of traditional artists but of teachers, educational and cultural administrators, students and interested parents as well.

In order to ensure that the program will run smoothly, proper planning is essential. An advisory committee should be set up at least six months before the program begins. This committee should include teachers, school administrators, representatives from local cultural organizations, traditional artists and parents. It is especially useful if prospective members have a good understanding of their community and are willing to share their resources. Equally important should be a conviction that traditional culture and local history play an important part in the educational experience.

The advisory committee can play an important part in the program by raising funds, introducing the program to participating schools, helping to arrange scheduling and in-service time for teachers and providing volunteers and hospitality for visiting artists and the folklorist.

The most successful folk arts-in-education programs are designed and developed as integral parts of the local educational and cultural institutions. When each organization takes an active part in the overall planning and implementation of the program, they are also guaranteeing the program's future. All too often, folk artists-in-the-schools programs come to an abrupt end when either the funding or the folklorist runs out.

Field Research

The Cultural Heritage Project highlights folk artists and arts that reflect traditions rooted in the region of participating schools. For this reason, it is important to choose artists who perform local traditions rather than those who interpret or revive them.

Such artists are not always as visible or as readily available as artists that might be included in other types of arts-in-education programs. Folk artists are often sought out and a relationship must be cultivated between the presenting organization, the school and the artist.

One of the standard means of finding folk artists is to do field research. When funds and time allow, the best way is to hire a professional folklorist who will spend a period of time (anywhere from ten days to three months or longer) researching and identifying the folklife and folk artists of the region.

A folklorist has been trained in the techniques of research and documentation, is familiar with a wide range of folk arts and knows how these traditions are passed on and function within the community (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1983:16).

A folklorist can provide a body of information on the traditional culture of an area that will include taped interviews, field notes, color slides and black and white photographs. This research can be the basis for a folk artist-in-schools program like the Cultural Heritage Project and for other subsequent public folklife programs.

Because a folklorist has a working knowledge of an artist's repertoire and his or her cultural background, it will be a better program if the folklorist is an integral part of the planning and development. He or she will have a good idea of what will work in the classroom and will work with teachers to help develop classroom activities accordingly. A folklorist can also make the artists more comfortable in the school setting by seeing to it that their expertise is conveyed in a relaxed and respectful atmosphere.

As the folklorist for the Cultural Heritage Project, I was hired by the Arts Council of Rockland to conduct three months of field research to identify and document traditional arts in Rockland County.[1] One of the immediate goals of my research was to identify possible artists for the Cultural Heritage Project. Initially the program was to be introduced into the fourth grade classes of three elementary schools in the Nyack School District.

Over the course of three months, I attended ethnic festivals and holiday celebrations, community suppers and functions, visited ethnic food stores and restaurants and frequented senior centers; all in search of the diverse traditional culture of Rockland. I interviewed people who were united by a shared sense of ethnicity like the Irish-American community of Pearl River or the thriving Russian community in Nyack. I spoke with people who shared a common occupation like the Hudson River fishermen and observed those people who practiced such family traditions as woodcarving and doll-making. By the end of the third month, I had compiled a list of potential artists for the Cultural Heritage Project.

My next task was to write biographical statements on these artists and include recommendations for the program. In making these recommendations I considered the following:

- the artist's availability
- the authenticity of their work
- the artist's role in their community
- the artist's ability to communicate with children
- the artist's willingness to work with teachers and students on projects

Approximately two months before the program began, these biographies were distributed to teachers during an in-service day presentation on the program. During the presentation, I showed color slides of the artists and their work and also presented some of the basic concepts concerning folklife and traditional arts.

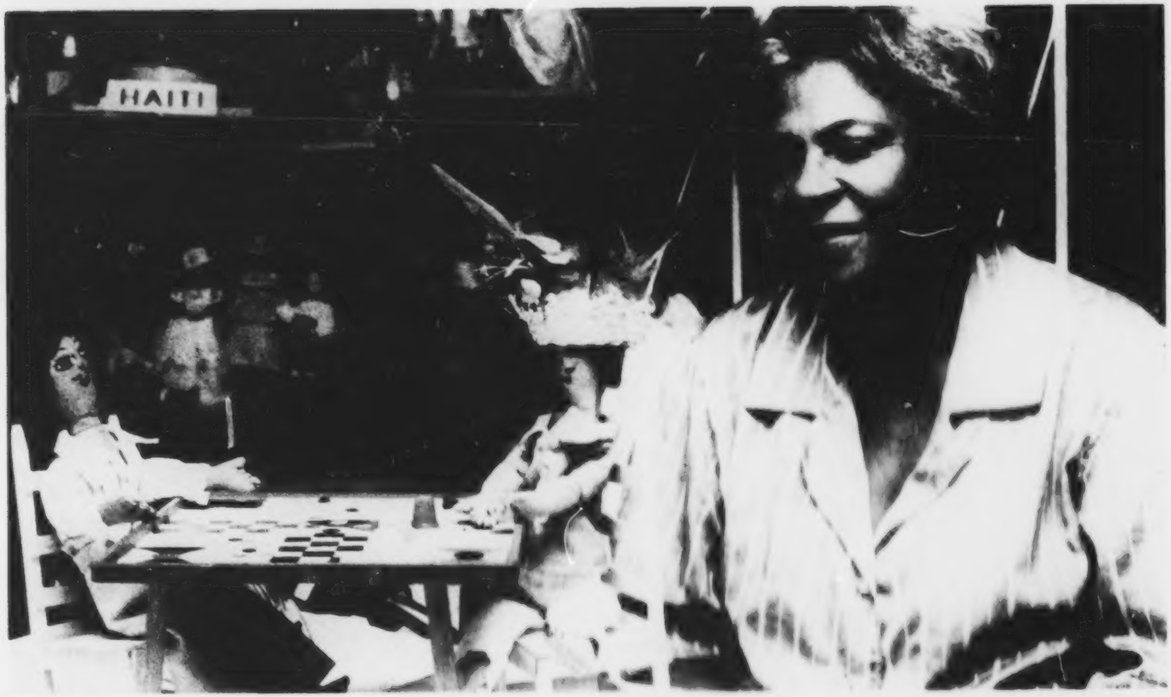

Figure 2
Haitian dollmaker Martha Hippolyte with her domino-playing dolls. Photo by Richard Wantula, courtesy of Arts Council of Rockland.

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I did not want to present tidbits of exotic cultural traditions but a good representation of the diverse folklife of the area. In order to achieve this, it was essential to develop some type of conceptual framework for the program. Out of this framework, classroom activities and curriculum materials could also be planned.

By exploring traditional culture in Rockland County before and after the building of the Tappan Zee Bridge in 1952, I developed a program based on how the county had changed over the course of a few generations. The building of the bridge and the development of a better highway system into New York City greatly changed the relatively isolated "upstate" county. By the early 1960's, Rockland experienced rapid growth and development and a great influx of ethnic groups from New York City.

Today, Rockland is an established suburban community made up of a very diverse group of people ranging from the insular Hassidic community of New Square to the most recent Hispanic and Haitian immigrants of Haverstraw and Spring Valley.

Each of the artists finally selected for the program represented this diverse mixture of rural and ethnic culture: Shirley Williams, a woodcarver, who through her explorations of the remaining woods of the county, has a keen sense of its natural landscape; Robert Burghardt, a self-taught painter from Stony Point, who captures on canvas the ever-changing cultural and architectural landscape of Rockland; doll maker Martha Hippolyte (Fig. 2), who moved to the Haitian community in Spring Valley in the early 1960's, vividly captures Haitian life through her dolls; Irish musicians Kathleen Ludlow and Ed McGowan who are part of the weekly *ceilis* (dances) held in the Irish communities of Pearl River and Orangeburg; and Yaroslava Mills (Fig. 3), who carries on the tradition of Ukrainian egg decorating that she learned as a young girl on the Lower-East Side of New York City.

In the Classroom

Apart from working with teachers and students on curriculum materials and preparations for the artists' visits, part of my job as the folklorist for the Cultural Heritage Project was to work with artists on developing workshops, demonstrations and class projects. My responsibility was to create a classroom experience that would allow students a chance to "experience living traditions directly and in the round" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1983:10).

All the artists involved in the program helped design ways to combine tradition and innovation into an enjoyable learning experience for the students. Doll maker Martha Hippolyte uses her dolls to share both the biography of her life and of Haitian culture. Her dollars are very autobiographical, vividly capturing her childhood days in Port-Au-Prince. In the classroom, on display, are all the people she grew up with: a row of young girls dressed in their school uniforms patiently sitting at their school desks; a group of Ra-Ra dancers celebrating the pre-Lenten festival

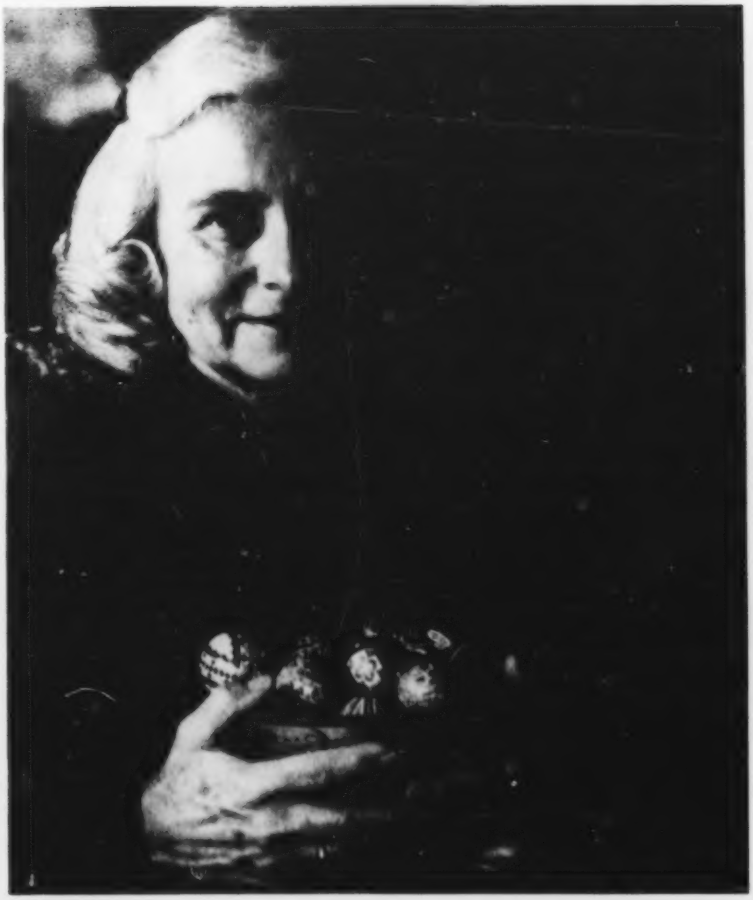

Figure 3
Pysanky-*maker Yaroslava Mills. Photo by Elizabeth Rose, courtesy of Arts Council of Rockland.*

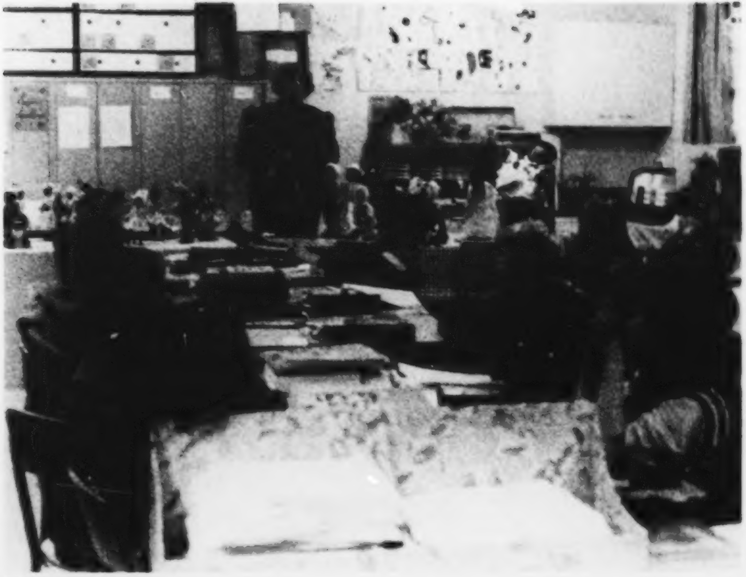

Figure 3
Haitian dollmaker Martha Hippolyte in a fourth-grade classroom at Upper Nyack Elementary School. Photo by Kathleen Mundell, courtesy of Arts Council of Rockland.

Figure 5
Fourth grade students at Upper Nyack Elementary School are enthralled by Martha Hippolyte's doll-making demonstration. Photo by Elizabeth Rose, courtesy of Arts Council of Rockland.

in Port-Au-Prince or small miniature clusters of women carrying baskets of fruit on their heads.

"I believe you should not let your essence go, let your culture go," Martha Hippolyte explains to students, "Through my dolls, I make people think about where they came from and what they left behind" (Figs. 4, 5).

After talking about her impressive display of dolls, Mrs. Hippolyte then teaches each student how to make their own rag doll. During these sewing sessions she sometimes tells spell-binding folktales. She has the ability to break down the formality of the classroom into something more like a sewing circle. Her stay is reminiscent of the way a youngster might learn sewing from a family friend or relation. Mrs. Hippolyte's visits to the schools beautifully illustrate the concept of "grandparent education" that such programs offer youngsters:

> Folklife builds ties between the old and the young, wherein the creativity in both is encouraged and enhanced by symbiotic cultural exchange. This exchange . . . is education in the most serious sense, in that it ensures both continuity and creativity in the transmission of culture through time (Jabbour 1981:149).

Younger artists, like Irish musicians Ed McGowan and Kathleen Ludlow, help dramatize the continuation of community traditions by sharing with students how they learned to play music — by watching, listening and being around the music and then picking it up from the older musicians that they grew up with.

Highlighting such informal learning situations helps give recognition to life experiences outside of school:

> Children recognize the life-time learning, the integrity, and the commitment that make folk artists the compelling personalities they so often are. And folk artists in the schools provide the same human element in teaching that was so essential in their own informal learning. They are a lesson in the art of lifelong learning, in learning that is self-motivated, acquired through close attention, and nurtured by the support of others (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1983:11).

A variety of activities were used to explore other concepts and skills. Woodcarver Shirley Williams introduced the idea of amusing oneself and being creative without a lot of money or fanfare (the kind of "make do" philosophy that underlies many folk artists' creations) when she had students make garden seed containers out of wild bamboo that they found in the woods behind the school grounds.

Local painter Robert Burghardt, who now lives in Stony Point, N.Y., got across the idea of children having their own traditions when he displayed his mural "Growing Up in New York City." Mr. Burghardt remembers his childhood days by capturing on canvas the street games of his generation; "Kick the Can," marbles and "Johnny on the Pony." Much to Mr. Burghardt's delight, several fourth-grade boys reported to him that "Johnny on the Pony" had just been outlawed in their school by the principal the week before his visit.

Irish musician and singer Kathleen Ludlow introduced the idea of traditions being cross-cultural when she taught the students the game of "Five Stones," an Irish children's game that is closely related to the American game of "Jacks" (Fig. 6).

Conclusion

These are just a few examples illustrating that the time spent between traditional artists and students can be mutually enjoyable and worthwhile. Such programs, like the Cultural Heritage Project, gives folk artists the opportunity to share their expertise while also helping children become more aware of the rich and diverse community culture that is a vital part of their "backyard heritage."

In bringing such programs to the schools we are showing younger people that skill, talent and creativity are not the exclusive preserve of museums, concert halls or even art classes but can thrive and flourish on an everyday level as well. The students, teachers, cultural organizations and especially the folk artists involved in the Cultural Heritage Project play a very special part in this recognition process.

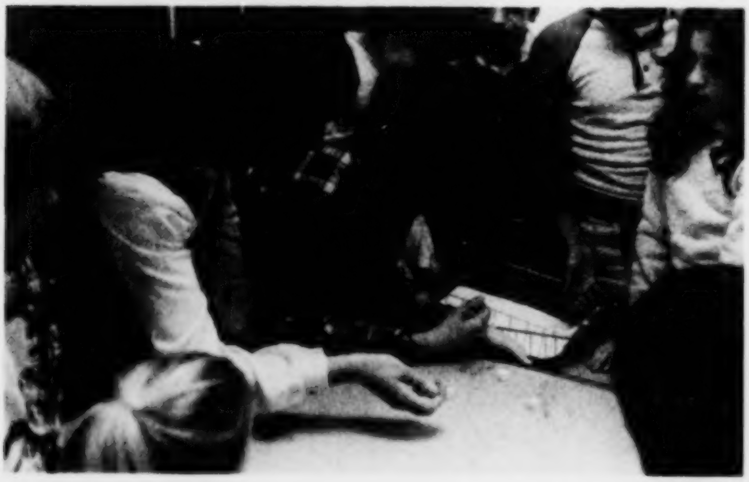

Figure 6

Irish musician Kathleen Ludlow teaches Valley Cottage students the Irish game of "Five Stones." Photo by Kathleen Mundell, courtesy of Arts Council of Rockland.

NOTES

1. Funding for the first two years of the program was granted by the New York Foundation for the Arts. The initial field survey was funded by the New York State Council on the Arts, Folk Arts Program. In subsequent years, the program has been supported by the National Endowment for the Arts, Folk Arts Program and the New York State Council on the Arts, Folk Arts Program.

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Folk Arts in Newark Valley: An Upstate New York Arts-in-Education Program

CATHERINE SCHWOEFFERMANN

The Roberson Center for the Arts and Sciences is a regional museum and cultural center which serves a nine county area of south-central New York State. Its programs reflect the premise that the arts, sciences and humanities should be integrated and made available to a wide public audience. The Center offers a broad cross-section of cultural and educational experiences, including exhibitions, performances, lectures, conferences, workshops, symposia and classes.

In 1983 the Center founded the Folk Arts program to identify, document and perpetuate the varied folk traditions of New York's Southern Tier. Through exhibits, publications, technical aid, an archive, educational programs, and other means, the Folk Arts program encourages the public to preserve our region's folk heritage for future generations.

In 1984, after two years of in-depth fieldwork and research, and numerous public events at the Center, the Folk Arts program began to widen its scope by sharing its resources throughout the region. We accomplished this by developing several forms of outreach: school programs, slide lectures, an information clearinghouse and technical assistance.

With this in mind, I invited Robert Gwinn, the Newark Valley Middle School principal, to participate in a pilot Folk Arts in Education Program (FAIE).

The Newark Valley site was chosen because while doing fieldwork in the area I discovered that the Historical Society and Bement Billings House (a farm museum) played vital roles in the life of the community. Many of the villagers were active in both organizations and many of the public programs drew upon the community's living history.

I discussed the proposed program with Mr. Gwinn and the directors of Bement Billings House and the Historical Society, all three of whom strongly supported the FAIE project. For a couple of reasons, we chose the middle school's five fourth grade classes as the target audience. The State had recently issued a mandate to integrate local history into the fourth grade curriculum, and folk arts were certainly an appropriate way to reach this goal. In addition, Mr. Gwinn felt that the fourth grade teachers were open to innovative programming.

Newark Valley is located in Tioga County, approximately 40 miles from Binghamton, the largest city in the region. The school district spans a large rural area, including six townships and four counties. While some of the residents commute daily to work in Binghamton and Elmira, many continue to make their living by dairy farming and lumbering.

Funding for the program came from five sources: Roberson Center for the Arts and Sciences, Newark Valley Middle School, the National Endowment for the Arts, the New York Foundation on the Arts, and the New York State Council on the Arts. Most of the funding was in hand by September. At that time, I met with the principal and five fourth grade teachers to introduce them to folk arts and develop program philosophy and goals.

Before the meeting each participant received several folk art articles, including a copy of Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's "An Accessible Aesthetic: The Role of Folk Arts and the Folk Artist in the Curriculum" (1983). This article provided the basis for our philosophy. Everyone agreed on the importance of integrating the culture of the community into the school curriculum. We further agreed that folklore and folk art constitute the traditional knowledge we have about the places in which we live, that folk artists are our indigenous teachers, and the community is a living museum.[1]

Because the students were already being exposed to local farm traditions through programs offered by the Historical Society and Bement Billings House, it was decided that the focus of the FAIE program would be on local ethnic traditions. Since this topic had never before been addressed — either through community or school programs — the teachers were eager to take this opportunity to do so.

Specific goals we hoped to achieve with the students through the program included:

- — expanding their sense of community folk arts and folklife
- — introducing them to local traditional artists from various ethnic backgrounds
- — enlarging their understanding and respect for customs of other peoples and countries
- — developing their understanding of the aesthetics of everyday life
- — improving their performance in other disciplines such as reading, composition, social studies and science through class exercises and homework assignments related to the FAIE program.[2]

During the month of October I conducted fieldwork in the four county area served by the school district. In November I presented the principal and fourth grade teachers with a list of possible artists, and support material on each one. We reviewed the material and chose twelve artists from six ethnic backgrounds who practiced a variety of traditional art forms.

Artist	Ethnic Background	Art Form	# of Residency Days
Valeria Thomspon	*Afro-Caribbean*	*Dance, Music, Clothing*	3
Rivkah Slomin	*Jewish*	*Jewish Celebrations, Foodways*	2
Raili Washburn	*Finnish*	*Holiday traditions, Dance, Storytelling*	1
Rich Koski	*Finnish*	*Music, Sauna traditions, Storytelling*	1
Ritva Mielty	*Finnish*	*Song*	1
Anna Su, *Roger Dong*	*Chinese*	*Martial Arts*	1
Ruby Wang	*Chinese*	*Calligraphy, Watercolor*	3
Mark Rust[3]	*Anglo American*	*Music, Instruments, Song*	3
Joan Shaver	*Anglo American*	*Quilting*	2
Ed Nizalowski, *Ann Nizalowski and friends*	*Polish*	*Polish heritage, Foodways*	1

November and December were spent working with the artists and teachers, developing program format and individual artists residencies.

We developed a format consisting of four distinct stages. Following is a description of each one.

General Introduction: Folklorist-Students

I introduced the FAIE program to the students, giving each class a slide presentation on folk arts in general. We discussed several topics, including tradition, culture, beauty, utility, technique, different forms folk art takes (i.e. music, dance, foodways, crafts), the various stages involved in making folk art, and how folk art tells stories about the people that make it and

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the places in which it is made. Along with the slide-show, I brought in several examples of folk art for the students to look at, touch, and ask questions about.

Introduction to Individual Folk Art Forms: Folklorist-Students

Prior to each Folk Art residency I briefed the students on the folk artist and his/her craft. This included a description of the art form, a biographical sketch of the artist, a slide presentation of the artist at work and a show-and-tell of the artist's work. In addition to this, each teacher and I coordinated classroom activities before the artist's visit, to place the visit in context and initiate interest in the upcoming program.

Folk Artist Residencies: Folk Artist-Students

Each residency involved one to three visits by the artist, who directed all activities while the teacher and folklorist stood by to help where needed. Each residency included the artist's personal explanation of his/her art work (where it was learned, from who, how, when, etc. . . .), a demonstration by the artist, hands-on activities for the students, an informal discussion between the artist and students, and in some cases a field trip to the artist's work place.

Student Activities: Teacher-Students

Before and after the artist's visits, the teacher worked with the students on related activities. These included library research, hands-on experience, fieldwork, written reports and show-and-tell sessions with family objects or heirlooms. Students in some classes were asked to collect family recipes, to inquire about why they were given the names they have, to collect proverbs from people they knew and ask the individuals to explain them, and to collect rhymes or games from their parents.

The artists generally visited five fourth grade classes during each day of their residencies. Classroom visits were approximately one hour long. Following is an outline of the quilting residency with Joan Shaver. This two-day residency included an in-class day of folk artist-student activities and a field trip day to the Newark Valley Quilters' Guild.

Introduction to Quilting: Folklorist-Students

a. description and history of quiltmaking
    1. types of quilts
    2. quilt vocabulary
    3. use and effect of color, pattern, design and texture on quiltmaking
    4. social history — "every quilt tells a story"
b. biographical sketch of Joan Shaver
c. slide-presentation on Joan Shaver working on quilt
d. show & tell session of examples of Joan's work

Quilter's Residency: Quilter-Students

a. personal introduction

b. explanation of her quilting
   1. who she learned from
   2. where she learned the craft
   3. when she learned to make quilts
   4. how she does it

c. demonstration and hands-on activity
   1. using templates to cut out fabric pieces
   2. piecing
   3. applique
   4. sandwiching the layers together
   5. quilting

d. field trip to visit and talk with the Valley Quilters (of which Joan is a member) during one of their weekly circles at the Newark Valley Historical Society. In addition to observing the quilters at work, the students tried their hands at quilting, under the guidance of group members, on a small frame set up for them. The quilters were asked to bring in quilts they had made or quilts passed down in their families. Teams of two students were assigned one quilter to interview. The interviews were later shared in the classroom as a follow-up activity.

Related Activities: Teacher-Students

a. collect quilt pattern from local quilter
   1. sketch a block of the pattern
   2. determine how it is made — piecework or appliqué
   3. what colors & kinds of fabrics are used?
   4. where did quilter get idea for pattern?
   5. examine size — is it a child's quilt? Who was it made for? What are your clues?
   6. technique — was it sewn by hand or machine? Is it quilted or tied? What do these things tell you about the person who made it?
   7. function — how was the quilt used? What are your clues?

b. make a list of different kinds of items that can be quilted

c. find out if anyone in your family made quilts. Collect as much information as possible on quilter and quilts. Bring quilts into class for show-and-tell.

The other residencies followed a similar format and offered a variety of experiences for the students. The Afro-Caribbean program introduced ritual drumming, drumming as communication, dances done to drum music and clothing styles. Demonstrations of all of these were given. Students were then invited to experiment with the drum, to dance and to try on the clothing.

The Jewish program dealt with the preparations for Shabbat, as well as

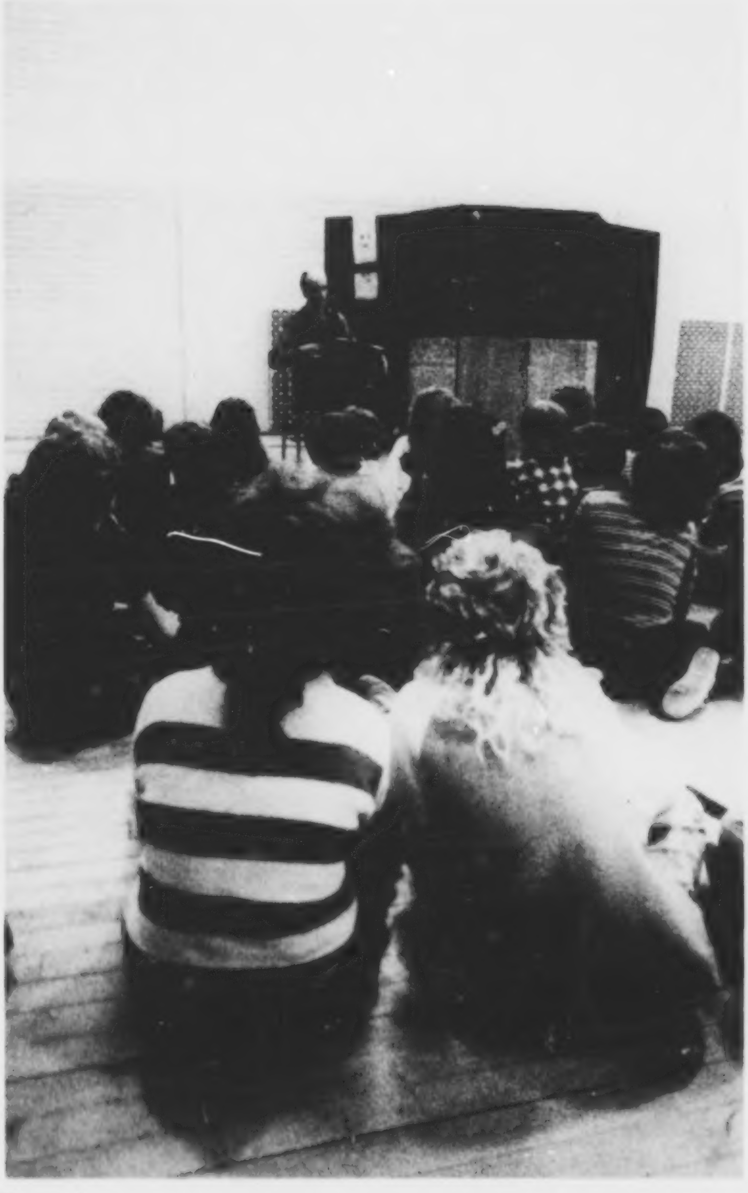

Figure 1
Musician Rich Koski playing a Finnish accordian tune for students at Newark Valley Middle School. Photo by Bruce Wrighton, courtesy of Roberson Folklife Program.

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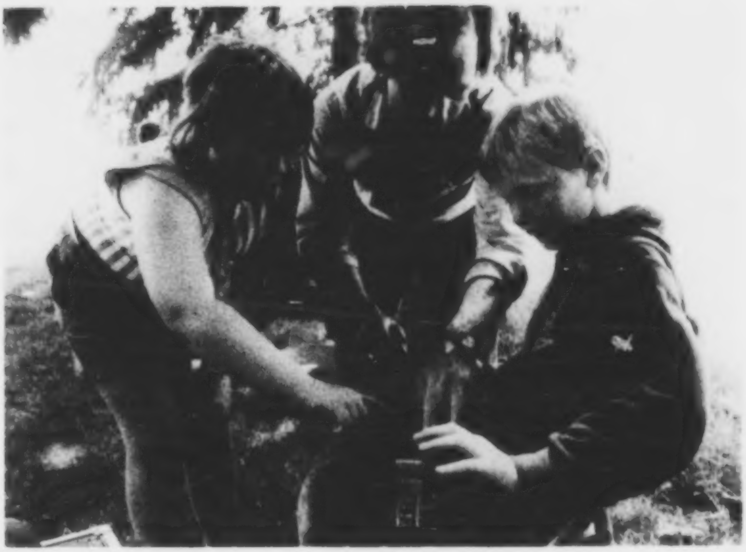

Figure 2
Mark Rust demonstrating the Appalachian dulcimer. Photo by Bruce Wrighton, courtesy of Roberson Folklife Program.

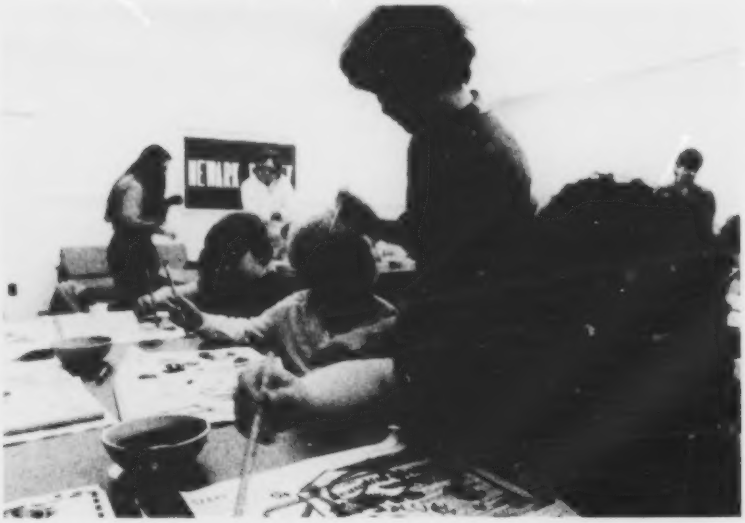

Figure 3
Ruby Wang demonstrating basic Chinese calligraphy strokes for the fourth-grade classes at Newark Valley Middle School. Photo by Bruce Wrighton, courtesy of Roberson Folklife Program.

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the celebration itself. Students learned about keeping kosher and made their own individual loaves of *challah*.

The Finnish program included three artists, each one focusing on a different aspect of Finnish culture. Raili Washburn described her personal experiences growing up in Finland, especially the holiday traditions of Christmas and Midsummer's Eve. She also demonstrated a traditional dance called the *schottische* and taught the students some of the steps. Rich Koski played several Finnish tunes on the fiddle and accordion, told several personal experience narratives about his family moving from Finland to Tioga County, including stories about his parents' sauna. Ritva Mielty talked about her childhood experiences in Finland and sang several traditional songs that had been passed down in her family.

The Chinese program included three artists presenting two art forms — Marital Arts and Chinese Ink Drawing. Anna Su and Roger Dong demonstrated and taught Tai Chi and Kung Fu movements, discussing how both forms rely on discipline and concentration. Ruby Wang demonstrated Chinese calligraphy and watercolor and taught the students how to make ink, do basic strokes on rice paper and paint bamboo and plum blossoms. She also explained the symbolism of the images.

In addition to the quilt residency, the Anglo American program included presentations of traditional instruments, songs and music. Mark Rust discussed his family's music traditions, played and sang examples of these and gave the students the opportunity to experiment with the various instruments.

The Polish program was presented by the Nizalowski family and included a discussion of their family heritage and traditional foodways. The Polish community made a Polish meal for the students — *kielbasa, golumki, peroghi*. The students made their own Polish dessert — *kolachky*.

The FAIE program was highly successful. All the residencies captured the students' attention and elicited enthusiastic responses as they took part in the discussions and activities. Each residency was run in a relatively informal way so that students could ask questions as they arose. Questions varied from "Does your blood boil while you are in a sauna?" to "Can an Orthodox Jewish child watch cartoons on Saturday even though it is the Sabbath?"

The FAIE program was meaningful for the students on several different levels. The artists' residencies exposed the students to and enriched their understanding and appreciation of traditional knowledge and heritage. Activities before and after the artists' visits helped integrate the content of each residency into many aspects of the fourth grade curriculum — the social sciences, the natural sciences, the arts and humanities. For example, the students learned why different ethnic groups settled in the Newark Valley region and why they left their home countries. They also learned where these countries are located. They learned about the aesthetics of different art forms ranging from music to dance to craft to foodways, as well as the similarities and differences in art forms among the different ethnic groups.

In addition, the activities helped the students to develop their interpersonal communication skills through interview, composition and poetry exercises.

In 1987 the Roberson Center Folk Arts Program enlarged the scope of the FAIE project and developed it into "The Ethnic Heritage Program." Expanding on the FAIE format, this program brings folk artists into schools, libraries, senior citizens centers and historical societies to talk about and demonstrate their work. Participants have the chance to see folk art techniques close up, and to learn about ethnic traditions from artists who live them. During her workshop on Chinese ink drawing and watercolor, for example, Ruby Wang describes how she learned both arts as a child growing up in China, explains how they symbolize important aspects of Chinese culture and demonstrates the techniques involved. Thus far the program has been in great demand.

NOTES

1. See Kirshenblatt-Gimblett article for elaboration of these ideas.
2. The goals were developed in consultation with Nancy Groce and were based on the FAIE program she directed on Staten Island.
3. The teachers felt strongly that we include an Anglo American musician. The two traditional musicians I located were unable to take part in the program because of inflexible work schedules. Therefore, I included Mark Rust, who I consider a border-line revivalist.

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Folk Artists in Staten Island Schools: Developing a Workable Model for Larger Communities

NANCY GROCE
with
JANIS BENINCASA

At first glance, Staten Island seems an unlikely location for the development of a successful folk-artist-in-the-schools program. Viewed from its bisecting expressways, Staten Island appears to consist primarily of postwar suburban tract homes and endless homogenized shopping strips. Staten Island is an anomaly: with the smallest population of New York's five boroughs it has more in common with northern New Jersey, which borders it to the south across the Arthur Kill, than with the rest of the city. Yet New York's southernmost county has a rich if fragile culture of its own. This article describes how folklorists Nancy Groce and Janis Benincasa developed a large, on-going multi-ethnic folk artists-in-the-schools program in this urban/suburban school district.

Now in its fourth year, the Staten Island Folk Artists in the Schools Program was initiated by the Staten Island Council on the Arts (SICA) during the 1984-85 school year. The Council was interested in reaching the many new ethnic, racial and immigrant groups moving into the rapidly expanding borough. Since 1964, when the newly completed Verrazano-Narrows Bridge first provided over-land contact with the rest of New York State, tens of thousands of new residents have settled in Richmond County. Today, significant numbers of Italians, Norwegians, Caribbeans, Jews, Blacks and East Indians have moved to the Island, settling among long-established German, Dutch and Anglo-American communities. Other ethnic groups, ranging from Filipinos and Turks to Puerto Ricans and Japanese are also represented in smaller numbers.

The Staten Island Council on the Arts was introduced to folk arts in 1983, when it received funds from the New York State Council on the Arts to conduct a general survey of folklife resources in Richmond County. Although SICA Director MaryLee Gladstone was initially skeptical about the survey project, she was genuinely impressed by the wealth of traditional resources identified by folklorist Jens Lund during his summer-long survey. After its completion, Gladstone decided to apply for funding from the National Endowment for the Arts (Folk Arts) and the New York Foundation for the Arts to develop an experimental folk artists-in-the-schools program.

While it seems to be more common for a school system to initiate folk arts residence programs, in this case the local arts council took the lead by applying for first year support, gaining the cooperation of one public and one private school, and directly hiring folklorist Nancy Groce. The direct management of the program by SICA proved most fortuitous, as the program, which in later years expanded into additional public and parochial schools, was able to avoid the bureaucratic problems that sometimes afflict small innovative programs overseen by the giant New York City Board of Education. The greater flexibility allowed by SICA ownership of the project also permitted non-school sites, such as the Richmondtown Restoration and the Staten Island Children's Museum, to participate in the program, and for Janis Benincasa to smoothly succeed Nancy Groce as head of the program during its third and fourth years.

The first meetings with the Council's staff took place in the fall of 1984. At that time, SICA's Director Gladstone was enthusiastic, if somewhat nervous about the program, which to be the Council's first attempt at in-school programming. While she was quite willing to trust the folklorist's expertise on such matters as artist selection, scheduling, and general day-to-day management, as director of an agency with broader concerns she had some specific agenda in mind for the program. In Staten Island's case, these agenda items were also mutually acceptable to the folklorist and the schools — for example, the featuring of qualified traditional artists from Staten Island to emphasize that "art" existed within the student's own community and was not confined to annual field trips into Manhattan — however, folklorists initiating new programs would be well advised to discuss general goals and specific concerns with their sponsoring agencies before entering the classroom.

Introducing Folk Arts to the Educators

After reaching an accord between the folklorist and the sponsoring organization, the next step was a visit to the principals of the participating schools, one public and the other private, that had been selected as first-year sites. This was done with the blessings of — and an introductory phone call from — the Board of Education's District Superintendent's office, and in the company of SICA's Director Gladstone. This heavy show of interest and support from superiors in a rigidly hierarchical system lent considerable and immediate credibility to the program. Although as folklorists we tend towards the egalitarian, a "from the top down" approach is recommended for colleagues working in large school systems. Individual teachers, no matter how interested and committed, are often overworked and should not be asked to fight the frequently oppressive bureaucracy for your special program. In Staten Island, we found it much easier to gain initial cooperation at a new site when principals and teachers felt the School District and the local arts council were enthusiastically expecting the Folk Arts Program to succeed in their school. This is not to say that the same people would not have just as graciously changed their lesson plans and altered their schedules without high-level support, but we remain convinced that this was a critical factor behind the initial success of the Program.

During our first in-school meeting, we also explained the Program's goals, emphasizing the direct as well as indirect benefits of the program for the educators' general curriculum. Folk arts, we said, would enhance the students' interest in and knowledge of the traditions of their community; and it would broaden their understanding of and respect for traditions and customs practiced by their neighbors in a rapidly diversifying area. We explained how the program would highlight the aesthetics of everyday life, and help students increase their interpersonal and inter-generational communications skills. In addition, we pointed out that it would assist teachers in connecting formal in-class learning with less formal out-of-class instruction by family and community. We also expressed a willingness to work with interested teachers to design individual lesson plans and assignments based on the folk arts program.

Soon after the initial meeting with each principal, a rough schedule for visiting 3rd, 4th and 5th grade classes was agreed upon. What worked best, we found, was to inform the principals what artists were available for visits to their schools on mutually agreeable days. We insisted only that an artist not be scheduled for more than three, or possibly four classes a day, but then delegated the responsibility of selecting which classes would be visited entirely up to the principal. We would strongly recommend that other folklorists follow this system; the world of in-school scheduling, even at the elementary level, is a labyrinth trespassed only by the brave. Intra-school staff relationships are better understood by the principal, and it should not be the folklorist's responsibility to explain why an artist is visiting one class and not another. Delegating scheduling allowed principals to select the classes they thought most likely to benefit from the program. We did, however, give principals the option of including several performing ensembles that could present traditional arts in assembly programs for the entire schools.

A schedule of participating classes to be visited during the upcoming school year was then prepared by each principal. Long-range planning, even if it occasionally needed to be modified during the year, provided all concerned with a better sense of the scope of the program. In Staten Island, most principals chose to share the program rather evenly among all their teachers. While this did not permit the in-depth concentration possible in some smaller school districts, it meant that most students, including those in Special Education classes, had at least four to six sessions with folk artists. In a system as large as New York's, this seemed to be a fair and equitable arrangement.

Soon after meeting with the principals, the program was introduced to the classroom teachers. Given their tight schedules, we found the best time to talk with the teachers was during their lunch hour. With the permission of the local head of the teachers' union, slides highlighting some of the most visible forms of Staten Island folk art were shown and a quick explanation of the program and its goals was given. This created considerable interest, and an information sheet about folklore, folklife and folk arts was distributed. The teachers were told that they would be receiving a similar information "resource" sheet a week preceding the visit of each folk artist to help them prepare their students. The folklorist's name and phone number was given out and teachers were urged to contact us directly if they had any questions about the program or were interested in developing special lesson plans for their classes.

Since community support was thought essential to the success of the project, a special effort was also made to inform the community about the folk arts program. Slide-lectures were given at local PTA meetings, and parents were invited to visit the classroom to watch their children in action. Class-parents were called upon to assist on days when additional pairs of adult hands were needed. Teachers often took it upon themselves to invite class-parents from the featured ethnic group, who usually became extremely enthusiastic about the program when they saw how "they" were being represented in the classroom. With the permission of the principal, local newspapers were invited into the schools to photograph and interview teachers, artists and students about the experimental new program, and the resulting articles helped increase our visibility.

In the Classroom: Folk Arts Meet the Real World

The week before the folklorist entered the classroom, each principal sent a letter home with the students explaining the program and its goals. The letter, which was drafted by the folklorist, was intended to give greater visibility to the program, but equally as important in a large city, it was meant to reassure parents that ethnic traditions and family histories would be discussed in a positive, non-competitive atmosphere and that the program would not be used to pry into immigration status, incomes, or other internal family matters.

The first contact with the children took the form of an "Introduction to Folk Arts" lecture at which basic folkloric concepts were explained by the folklorist to students in all the participating classes. Folk art genres, ethnicity, oral transmission and the non-commercial nature of folklore were emphasized. Family folklore and history were also discussed; however, genealogy was specifically avoided because in a multi-ethnic community it often puts the immigrant child at a disadvantage. (Although genealogical exercises should not be competitive, it is often easier for children from English-language background to trace their families back further, and hence "do better" in the eyes of their teachers and classmates.) Classes closed with a discussion of children's games demonstrated by enthusiastic on-the-spot volunteers who were pleased to discover how much folklore they already knew.

During the introductory lesson, students were told that they would be expected to know the name of the visiting artist, a bit about the artist's ethnic group or occupation, and at least how to say "hello," 'thank you," and "goodbye" if the artist's language was other than English. (This information was contained in the short "resource sheet" that teachers received at least one week in advance of the artist's visit.) This basic information was reinforced at the beginning of each class by the folklorist or teacher who questioned the children about the country we would be discussing, its capital, geography, etc. It was also made clear to the students that the folk artists were extremely important and talented people who were taking time from their adult lives to visit them. Although less than subtle, this approach worked, and classes were rarely unprepared or ill behaved during an artist's visit.

To be successful, we felt the folk arts program must stress both folklore and more general skill and information. It was important that the teachers not feel that the program was merely "fluff" or irrelevant entertainment that interrupted their regular lesson plans. To this end, the folklorists worked with individual teachers to develop "spin off" lessons from the artists' visits. Geography and discussions of other cultures and languages were the most popular "spin off" exercises, but equally as valuable was the writing of essays and "thank you" notes to the folk artists. Letter writing and hand-writing practice are important in elementary schools, and the children were excited about addressing letters to real people.

As an experiment, two of the advanced fourth grade classes also established a pen pal program with fourth graders in upstate New York who were participating in a folk arts program directed by Catherine Schwoeffermann. For several months, Staten Island and Newark Valley students compared the different types of traditional arts they were seeing at each site, in addition to swapping such other vital information (to 9-year-olds) as heights, weights, names of pets, and favorite foods.

Although this article seeks to discuss strategies for setting up a successful folk arts program, it should not be forgotten that the basic raison d'etre for these programs is to introduce and teach a knowledge of folklore and traditional arts in the classroom. As mentioned above, basic definitions and examples were given during the introductory lecture; however, we made sure these concepts were stressed at each subsequent class. This not only served to tie the program together, but we found it gradually instilled in the students a fairly sophisticated knowledge of the subject matter.

Selection and Training of Folk Artists

So far we have not touched on the most important part of the program: the selection and training of participating folk artists. First year artists included an oral historian, Norwegian rosemaler, tugboat rope worker, Irish musicians and dancers, a Ukrainian *pysanky* maker, Italian marionettier,

Figure 1
June Farkouh demonstrates traditional Arabic dress during a session on "Arabic Culture and Arabic Cooking." Photo courtesy of Staten Island Council on the Arts.

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Figure 2
Eddie Rosenblum, pigeon racer. Photo courtesy of State Island Council on the Arts.

Haitian dance troupe, Chinese calligrapher, ferryboat captain, and a Philippine cook. In the subsequent years, the program presented an Albanian musician, Jewish storyteller, Korean Tae Kwon Do master, Klezmer band, pigeon racer, Arabic cook, Native American potter, Irish *son nos* singer, Pakistani *mehendi* (hand dyeing) expert, Jamaican storyteller and folk medicine practitioner, a West Indian cook, Korean dancer, and Greek dancers (Figs. 1, 2, 3).

Several factors went into deciding which folk artists and ethnic groups to include in the program. From the beginning, we tried to balance the traditions presented geographically, racially, and in terms of craft genres. In an ideal world, each ethnic group would be represented, but in a community as cosmopolitan as Staten Island this was unfeasible. The most effective way of dealing with possible omissions was to openly admit that the program would not be totally reflective of the community. We made it known, however, that we were always interested in learning about other traditional artists on Staten Island, and would attempt to include others at a future date.

In addition to simply locating talented traditional artists, some judgment had to be made about their ability to work well with children, as well as

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the appropriateness of their art form in a classroom setting. The former quality is difficult to judge, but the ability to clearly explain one's traditions and art as well as general patience are good indications. As with many public sector presentations, many of the artists were nervous about presenting their traditions in the classroom, and a planning session a few days before their first visit to the schools was helpful. In the Staten Island program, the folklorist remained in the classroom; frequently introducing the artist, assisting with demonstrations, and closing the class by contextualizing what the students had just seen in terms of the larger program. During an artist's first classes, we were more active in helping them shape and direct their presentation. This allowed us to reassure the sometimes nervous artists and to avert possible trouble: for example, the singer who strayed into an overly-religious folktale, or the storyteller who tottered on the edge of the risqué. In most cases, a few post-class suggestions helped polish any roughness in the presentations.

The adaptability of some of the crafts to the classroom presented more of a challenge, especially since we were anxious to have the children participate as much as possible in "hands-on" crafts projects. We consulted with the artist to determine how a craft could best be modified for the classroom. For example, in the case of Jon Grondahl, a sixth-generation Norwegian rosemaler, we agreed it would not be feasible for students to master the use of oil paints and create intricate designs on wood in a 45-minute class. Instead, Grondahl suggested he make and xerox a color-coded stencil of a rosemale design which the children could follow through an overlaying piece of tracing paper. This "rosemale-by-numbers" scheme worked

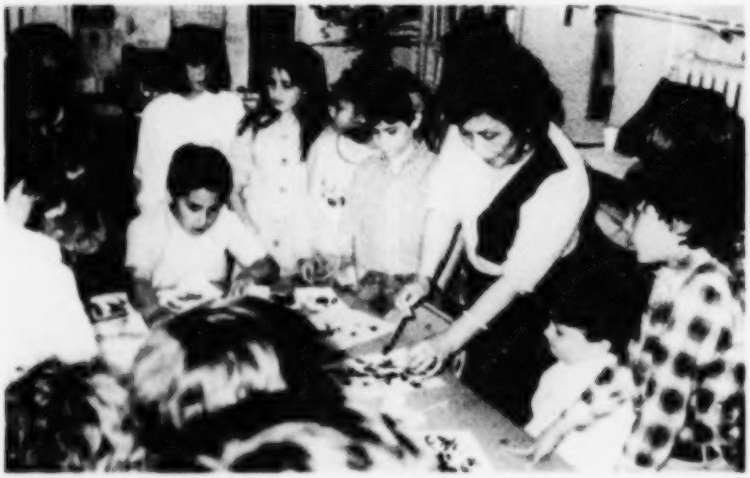

Figure 3
Lucy Wu Mainer, Chinese calligrapher. Photo courtesy of Staten Island Council on the Arts.

wonderfully, and when the stencils were removed, their work — done in oil-based Crayola — looked acceptably traditional. Even given the time constraints of a 45-minute period, by modifying his materials, Grondahl was able to give the students a fairly sophisticated introduction to the essentials of rosemaling.

Some very talented traditional artists were not asked to participate because their crafts were too difficult or dangerous to translate into a classroom setting. A Norwegian carver who worked with sharp knives, and a stained-glass maker whose workshop was filled with sharp glass, were both reluctantly omitted. In a few cases, field trips were scheduled when transportation of models and materials proved impossible: for example, we visited a ferry boat captain on his ship in the harbor, and we went to see the Sicilian marionettier Miguel Manteo at his workshop.

Possibly the least successful of our in-school participatory classes was a Ukrainian pysanky-making workshop (Fig. 4). Although the first year's classes went fairly well — given open candle flames, raw eggs and hot wax — the adults involved agreed that the experience was a bit too nerve wracking, and in subsequent years we settled for children watching the artist demonstrate her craft. Cooking classes also took a considerable amount of extra work, and required clearance from the schools' kitchen staffs. After some persuading, assurances that only the adults would go near the stoves, and rescheduling to avoid busy school lunch periods, we were able to assemble such delicacies as Arabic pastries and Philippine lumpia (egg rolls) in the classroom and sneak them into the ovens during off-hours. Cook-

Figure 4

Tania Snihor, pysanky *maker. Open candle flames, hot wax, and raw eggs make this operation better demonstrated than participated in! Photo courtesy of Staten Island Council on the Arts.*

VIEW
FROM
STATEN ISLAND
THE 1985-86 FOLK ARTISTS
IN THE SCHOOLS PROGRAM
EDITED BY Nancy Groce Staten Island Council on the Arts

Figure 5
Cover of the booklet produced after the 1985-86 program, containing 40 pages mostly of student writings, with many photographs and student drawings depicting or inspired by various segments of the curriculum.

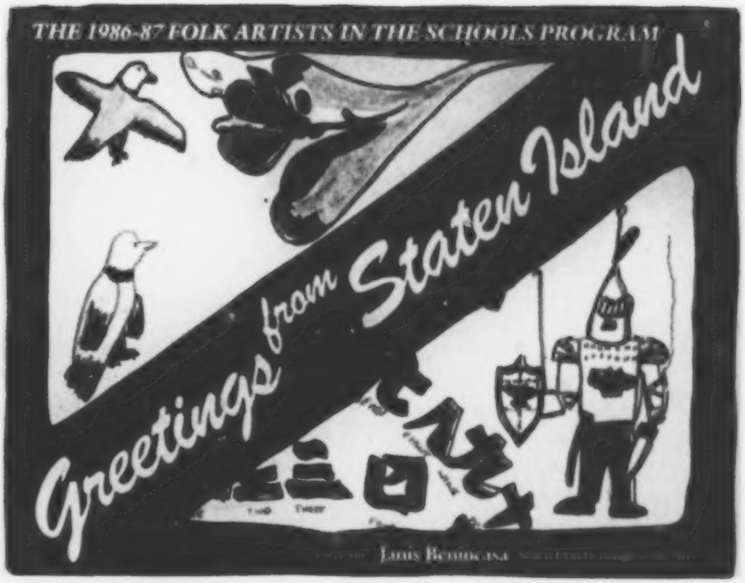
THE 1986-87 FOLK ARTISTS IN THE SCHOOLS PROGRAM
Greetings from Staten Island
two
three
Janis Benincasa

Figure 6
Design on the cover of the 1986-87 program booklet, 44 pages. Program booklets and other materials are available through the Staten Island Council on the Arts.

ing, incidentally, was surprisingly successful; even fussy eaters surprised their teachers by agreeing that whatever they had just prepared was "the best thing they had ever eaten in their entire lives."

Children as Folklorists: Documenting The Experiences

At the end of the first year, the students were encouraged to collect their own family's folklore, ethnic traditions, recipes, or games, or to write a description of a visiting artist for an island-wide "Folklore Contest." Winning entries were selected by the folklorist for inclusion in a booklet, which was published at moderate cost by the SICA, and distributed throughout the schools and the community. The idea of a contest intrigued the students, and many of the teachers assisted the program by making it a required assignment. The Contest was subsequently repeated at the end of each school year. Thus far, three booklets have been produced, "Generation to Generation," "View From Staten Island," and "Greetings from Staten Island" (Figs. 5, 6).

The booklets did a creditable job of documenting numerous local folk artists and giving greater visibility to the program and its activities. They also reflect the students' real knowledge of folklore and local artistic traditions. Although they selected their own topics, by the end of each year very few children confused folklore with popular or elite culture. Another unexpected benefit was that many of those "winning" the contest were not in the advanced classes. Student essays were selected on their general merits as well as their choice of topic. Many of the selected essays were submitted by immigrant or first-generation children, who were delighted by their unexpected success. Folklore contest winners were awarded a booklet and small prize — giant Chinese animal cookies the first year — during general school assemblies in the spring.

The Staten Island Folk Artists in the Schools program is now entering its fourth year. In 1987-88, under the direction of folklorist Janis Benincasa, the program will reach four public, one private and one parochial school. The roster of participating folk artists has been expanded each year, and the program has now become an accepted part of the curriculum in Richmond County schools. We have every reason to hope that the program will continue to be equally as successful in the future.

(Booklets and classroom resource materials are available at modest cost from SICA. A short introductory video tape, 'Staten Island Folk Artists in the Schools" is also available for rental or purchase. Contact: Janis Benincasa, Folk Arts Program, Staten Island Council on the Arts, One Edgewater Plaza, Staten Island, New York 10305.)

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The Rondout Valley Folklore Project, 1981 - present

JANE McCLURE

The Rondout Valley Folklore Project, in existence since 1981, is centered around the four small towns and hamlets that make up the Rondout Valley Central School District in central Ulster County, New York. The Rondout Creek (pronounced crik) runs through the center of the district, as does the old D & H canal whose beds, tow paths and locks, unused since the early part of this century, are still in evidence, and the valley contains some of the oldest vernacular architecture in the country.

When my husband and I first moved to Lomontville some twenty years ago we rented an old farm house from a local farmer by the name of Benjamin VanWagenen. Just around the corner from the farm where we lived there is a steep hill called the Butterbar by local residents. When I asked Mr. VanWagenen about the Butterbar and how it got its name he told me that a Dutch farmer many, many years ago (the area was settled by the Dutch in the 1600's) was on his way to market with a load of cream. As he approached the top of the hill a strange noise spooked his horse. The cart it was dragging tipped over on the steep hill and all the barrels it was carrying rolled to the bottom. When they were opened, instead of cream they were filled with butter.

This was only one of several stories I'd heard about in the community that were rustling about in my brain when a colleague and I attended the Humanizing Education Conference at the Concord Hotel in Kiamesha Lake, New York in the Spring of 1981. While there I attended a workshop being given by Ted Berger, Linda Davidson, and Carrollee Pescatore from the New York Foundation for the Arts. They were explaining the procedure for applying the Arts in Education Grants, and to the dismay of many of the people in the room (and to our delight) acknowledged that they were targeting poor rural school districts with their Artist in Residence grants.

The one potential residency that immediately appealed to me was the Folk Arts in Education. As a classroom teacher, I saw rich possibilities in using Folk Arts and the study of folk traditions to enhance our Social Studies, Language Arts and Reading programs. My colleague and I sat up late that night and discussed all the extra experiences we would bring our students if someone gave us a few thousand dollars to do it: the people we wanted our students to meet, the local characters who had stories to tell, the various folk-music people we'd like to have to the school, and the multi-cultural experiences that our rural isolated kids usually do not get exposed to.

We returned to school full of enthusiasm and discussed the conference with our principal. Phil Buonfiglio, inquiring if the district would be interested in applying for one of these grants. He sent us to talk to the Superintendent, Mr. O'Sullivan, who was equally supportive and promised to get the matching funds if the grant went through. We applied, the grant was funded and we were on our way.

The thrust of the Rondout Valley Folklore Project was two-pronged, involving both a community outreach program and a formal school program. The community outreach program involved the folklorist going out into the community, finding and interviewing people practicing traditions learned in a family or community setting. These people were interviewed and their memories recorded on audio tape and in color slides, and later in the program on video tape.

Richard Axt, trained at Cooperstown, was the folklorist in residence for our first two years. He gave the program its intellectual legitimacy and its life, interviewed some 25 community residents: dowsers, rum-runners, Irish cement mine workers from Rosendale with stories of banshees and ghosts, quilters, and women and men from this community who remembered a time gone by with startling clarity and completeness.

The next and most and important step was to find a satisfactory, effective way of sharing the things Dick had learned with the 10 and 11 year olds in our classes. Luckily for the program there is an intense interest in local history among Rondout Valley residents, and a rich history it is indeed. There is an abundance of people in the community well-informed about not only events, but traditions and crafts. It is these people, often at odds with the schools, which they see as dens of permissiveness and a burden on their pocketbook, that we sought out as we searched for the history to be found in our own backyards.

Eliott Wigginton, in *Foxfire*, spoke of the importance and value of the information these people had to share with our youngsters when he wrote:

> Daily our grandparents are moving out of our lives, taking with them, irreparably, the kind of information contained in this book. they are taking it, not because they want to, but because they think we don't care . . .
>
> The big problem, of course, is that since these grandparents were primarily an oral civilization, little of it is written down. When they're gone, the magnificent hunting tales, the ghost stories that kept a thousand children sleepless, the intricate tricks of self-sufficiency acquired through years of trial and error, the eloquent and haunting stories of suffering and sharing and healing and planting and harvesting — all these go with them, and what a loss. (Wigginton 1972:12-13)

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We decided that concurrent with the folklorist doing community research we would put the children to work researching in a family setting. The natural researchers of grandparents, we felt, would be the the grandchildren. So what we sought to do was to give our students a clear idea of the meaning of tradition and traditional culture in their community by examining the institution most accessible to them, their family. We started by declaring each child a family archivist and preparing each of them with whatever interviewing skills we felt were appropriate for ten year olds, and with questionnaires, or guide sheets, we sent them out to do "field research." Of course, the grandparents, parents and other relatives were naturally receptive to the attention. They had also been primed for the assignment by letters, informational meetings and a reception introducing our folklorist.

The questions in the student survey sheets were organized into six broad categories: family genealogy, family geographic history, family work history, family recreation history, family food history, and family lore. The survey investigated family life for three generations, the students', their parents', and their grandparents'. Students were recording not only the facts of their family life, but how the families worked and played, nourished and entertained themselves. Using this tool, the students themselves started immediately to investigate traditional culture in their own lives.

While the students were busy interviewing their own family members the teachers and folklorist were locating tradition bearers with community knowledge, stories, and skills to share and to find a way to bring that information to the children either by getting our students out of the school and into the community or getting the community into the school. In both cases, it was important that the students be adequately prepared for what they were to see and hear. We used classroom discussions and teacher-developed worksheets to focus the attention of the students on what they were going to be participating in. This enabled them to focus on particular details: What was this called?, What was this used for?, How did you first learn to do this?, and so forth. It gave the children questions to ask the informants and over the course of the program they developed some fairly sophisticated questioning techniques.

One goal we had set for the program was to get each participating class actively involved in one local tradition. One of the traditions in this valley is maple sugaring. Students visited the farm of Mr. Phil Davis in Accord, New York. For Mr. Davis making maple syrup is more of a traditional family rite of spring than a vital part of his farming business. He taps maple trees because his family always has, and the annual yield of 200 gallons of syrup is for his family's use, for gifts to friends and relatives, and for the limited sale to people in the local community. It was the sense of tradition in this agricultural practice that made it so appropriate for this project. Mr. Davis identified the sugar maple for them, expained how the trees were tapped and how the sap was collected and boiled down to syrup in the sap house evaporator.

Figure 1
Kerhonksen quilters. Standing: Ella Lathrop, Mary Simpson, Ruth West; seated: Tina Starkin, Dot Little. Photo by Richard Axt.

Some classes also visited the Federated Church in Kerhonksen where a group of women meet each week to quilt (Fig. 1). The students were able to break into small groups and gather around each of the women to ask questions about quilting. It was a very personal exchange of information and the student's interest was further motivated by the fact that they would be doing a quilting project in school after the field trip. Their classroom teacher, Jean Thorn, an accomplished quilter herself, assisted them in projects to be taken home later.

One of the more effective classroom performers was Oscar Christensen. Mr. Christensen is a resident of Lyonsville, a small hamlet in the northern part of the school district. The Christensens were Norwegian and Mr. Christensen's father had been a sailing ship captain in Norway. After emigrating to the United States, Mr. Christensen's father left the sea and became a supervisor in the structural construction industry. The construction of the Ashokan Reservoir in Ulster County brought the Christensen family to Ulster County in 1907. Shipping and construction both required knowledge of ropes and knots, and Oscar Christensen picked up this knowledge from his father. His knowledge of ropes and knots constituted a traditional occupational skill appropriate to this project.

However, it was not for his knot knowledge alone that we brought Mr. Christensen to the school. We thought his occupational knowledge could inform another subject of Rondout Valley local history, the D & H canal.

The Delaware and Hudson Canal was constructed in 1828 to bring the coal of Northeastern Pennsylvania to New York City. It runs from Honesdale, Pennsylvania in the Delaware River Valley, through the Rondout Valley, to Kingston Harbor on the Hudson River. From its opening in 1828 to its close in 1898 it was an active and vital part of Rondout Valley life and its abandoned locks and canal beds and occasional snubbing posts (for which our publication is named) still exist as reminders of its prominence. Despite its importance to the history of the Valley the canal was not a vivid memory of the older people that were interviewed. No one could recount stories from their families about the operation and life of the canal. With Mr. Christensen we hoped to bootleg the knowledge of one occupation to inform another and bring some life to this important artifact that runs through the school district.

In preparation for Mr. Christensen's visit to the classroom, we showed the students slides of canal boats on the D & H Canal and had them write down questions about the ropes being used on the boats. When Mr. Christensen came to the class we reviewed the slides and the students asked him their questions: how thick, how strong, what was the tow rope made of; how was it tied to the boat at one end and to the horses at the other; how did the block and tackles work, how were the ropes tied to the snubbing posts at the locks.

Mr. Christensen had answers, and the questions that seemed academic in the previous class now were unlocking an understanding of the community's past. After identifying and explaining the knots used on the canal, Mr. Christensen taught the children the knots, using rhymes and lore to accompany each illustration. It was a useful and enjoyable lesson and one well remembered by the children.

Another folk artist brought into the school was Perry Cobb, a local landscaper, whose avocation is wood-carving (Fig. 2). While actively pursuing his livelihood Perry selects interesting pieces of wood of some 110 different varieties and sets them aside to fashion an assortment of useful and beautiful items such as toast plates, bowl, spoons, forks, and various household items. In addition, Perry carves various wildlife forms he claims are hidden in the wood and he is just freeing. He does not sell the items, although he is often asked to display them at local shows where he talks about his work. Perry is always willing to talk about wood, about tools, about carving, about life.

The formal Rondout Valley School program was in existence for five years. During that time we had numerous people into the school to share their traditions with the children. The visitations were both preceded and followed by activities that tied the visit to the ongoing curriculum work. The folklorist was present during these visits to act as an interpreter and to lead the interviewing. Teachers were there in a dual role. They were learners along with the children, and they also were responsible for the

Figure 2
Perry Cobb, landscaper — and wood-carver. Photo by Richard Axt.

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classroom management (which was rarely a problem since the children were actively involved). They also, in consort with the folklorist, planned the introductory and follow-up lessons and were responsible for implementing them. Our folklore program soon became a regular 10-week unit in fifth grade Social Studies and many of the lessons, depending on the confidence of the folklorist, were presented by the folklorist. It was the teachers' chance to listen and learn so that they could continue the program when the residency was over or the grant money dried up.

As a classroom teacher myself I am sensitive to the heavy paperwork load on public school teachers. I was therefore careful not to burden the teachers in the way of paperwork and scheduling. This contributed, I believe, to the program's success and I would suggest that anyone planning a similar program provide in their budget for clerical time and assistance. To succeed you need the cooperation of your teachers; don't assume that the principal speaks for them. Actively pitch the program to them and elicit and use their suggestions.

By the third year of our program reporters and various people in the community had been asking when we were going to publish a book. It seemed the logical next step, both to me and the teachers and students I was working with.

Actually, the book that needs to be written is buried in the tapes, the stories of a way of life in this valley that is fast disappearing and nearly forgotten. The book we elected to print the first year, however, was a collection of student-written stories, based on their own field research. The stories were done both as classroom and individual asignments. For example, a major story in the first *Snubbing Post*, as the books were titled, was on the Rosendale Cement Industry, closed in the 1920's but whose huge man-made caves still exist and undermine the area.

The article is based on interviews with the late Walter Williams, who entertained Jerry Niclaus's 8th grade Science class by touring them through the caves on the Williams' property and told them stories about the caves and the history of the caves and the industry. It was something he was intensely enthused about and he was always willing to share the enthusiasm with the community. Mr. Williams was typical of the kind of support we received from the community while the formal program was in existence. So far, we've published three books of student-written stories. The books were named after the snubbing posts that still stand alongside our canal bed, a fitting symbol for a book whose intention is to encourage student understanding of their community and the people they share it with.

Our second *Snubbing Post* developed into a collection of family stories (Figs. 3, 4), many of which were parents', grandparents', and neighbors' recollections about their schooldays. It included stories about a one-eyed schoolteacher in Vly-Atwood, "Uncle Gerald's Ice Run," and "The Day the Deer Took off with my Great Uncle's Gun." The parents and grandparents,

Figure 3
Fifth grade students at Rondout Valley School sharing family stories. Photo by Robert Gates.

according to most accounts, always behaved well and studied much harder than children nowadays.

Our third and final *Snubbing Post* so far, published in 1986, focused on family foods and food traditions. One large section of the book is devoted to family recipes and the stories behind the recipes. Students included details on how the recipe was learned, who passed it on, when the food was traditionally eaten, and who is usually there to share the meal. We also included family stories focusing on food. Story suggestions were given to the Language Arts teachers who assigned, corrected, and submitted the stories to the student panel who was selecting the stories for the book. It was by far the most ambitious of our *Snubbing Posts* as all the typing and typesetting was done in-house with the assistance of our school computer teachers. The book is 136 pages long, and included three pages of ads by local businesses.

That same year the program was moved to the District's fourth grades to fit in with the local history curriculum. The project also published a cookbook called *What's Cookin' in the Rondout Valley,* recipes collected by the District's fourth grade students. It was, we realized, to be the final formal year of the program. Ellen McHale, our folklorist that year, knew that when she took the job and looked toward a way of wrapping up the details, and ending the formal program neatly. The fourth grades at the time were in three different buildings, scattered throughout the district, administered by three different principals with separate ideas about how they wanted the program to be run. I was coordinating the program, as I had the

Figure 4

Dan and Jane Smiley being interviewed for The Snubbing Post *by Rondout Valley students. Photo by Robert Gates.*

previous four years, but my priority was necessarily my own full-time classroom position, and my students were no longer the primary participants. However, the year was generally successful. Ellen brought to the program an extensive background and feel for local architecture as well as experience with children's lore and games.

At the end of the fifth year of the program, no fourth grade teacher jumped up and said, "Hey, this is great, let me take it over." Of course, I did not actively lobby for anyone to do that and our Superintendent was inclined to let the program go. There was no ill will on his part. The grant had decreased to 30% outside support. Our attempts to find a local not-for-profit organization to take over the program had been without success. Some were interested but simply unable to afford the administrative expenses or to put in the time required.

At this point the District has paid to have much of the collection developed into curriculum materials used primarily in the fourth grades. I still receive occasional mail from interviewees or former students, and putter from time to time in the archives, which have been incorporated into our Middle School Library. I occasionally am asked to give workshops on the program, or for advice in setting up a program or putting out a student publication, and I gladly share what I've learned.

The program simply got too big to be coordinated within the school day or even in a reasonable amount of time outside the day. Yet it certainly could not financially support even a part time coordinator's salary, no matter how creative the mathematics. Richard Axt, the folklorist in residence during the first two years of the program had told me that he had seen many programs start out with high hopes and lots of volunteers and often winding up with people discouraged and overworked. I wanted to end on a high note. In this I was successful.

I am intensely proud of the program, the marvelous work our students did, and the support and involvement by our teachers, administrators and community. Some of our tapes were used by the New York State Museum in developing its local history kit and the voices of our valley — Percy Greene, Bill Brooks, Jenny Osterhoudt, Carrie Barnhardt, Elmer Schhoonmaker, and Floyd Barringer can be heard describing family, school, and community life in this valley.

Our folklorists served us well; they have helped us document and preserve a bit of our heritage that might otherwise have been lost. Our students lives have been enriched by their stays in this valley and the help they gave us in collecting our folk history and informing ourselves. The program was a positive one, reenforcing community and family values. Thank you for the chance to share it with a wider audience.

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Articles

Romantic Ballads in North America

EDITH FOWKE

A glance at the classifications in Malcolm Laws' two ballad indexes immediately shows that in *American Balladry from British Broadsides* (Laws 1957), four of the eight sections deal with love: "Family Opposition to Lovers," "Lovers' Disguises and Tricks," "Faithful Lovers," and "Unfaithful Lovers." That is, half of the British broadsides in North American tradition are romantic ballads. On the other hand, in his other collection, *Native American Balladry* (Laws 1964), there is no separate section at all dealing with love. There are merely a few scattered romantic tales in the section "Ballads on Various Topics."

This is a striking divergence, and it is interesting to speculate on the reasons for it. It seems to me that there are two possible explanations. One is that the North American pioneers were so occupied with wresting a living from the new land that they had little time for romance. For the most part, the broadsides are fictional, a rough countèrpart to the Harlequin romances so popular today, while the native American ballads are largely factual, corresponding roughly to newspaper reports of events. Thus instead of the broadsides' multitudinous love ballads, we get the much more down-to-earth accounts of cowboys and lumberjacks, and ballads inspired by murders, tragedies, and disasters.

One relationship should be noted: the North American section on "Murder Ballads" (Laws 1964:190) contains quite a few items that parallel ballads in the broadside section on "Unfaithful Lovers" (Laws 1957:247). The plots of "The Jealous Lover," "Pear Bryan," "Poor Omie," "Rose Connoley," and several other North American ballads are very similar to those of "The Wexford Girl," "The Old Oak Tree," and "The Cruel Ship's Carpenter." In both groups a girl is seduced, becomes pregnant, and is murdered by her lover. There is, however, one major difference: where the British broadsides are largely fictional, the North American ballads are largely factual. There are, of course, some exceptions: In America, "The Jealous Lover" and "On the Banks of the Ohio" appear to be fictional — but they also appear to be derived from the broadsides. "The Banks of the Ohio," in fact, is a counterpart of an Irish ballad, "On the Banks of the

O.B.D.," and Phillips Barry suggests that "The Jealous Lover" is a re-working of an English broadside, "The Murder of Betsy Smith" (Laws 1964:191). Thus, even though the plots in the two groups of murder ballads are much the same, the North American ones share the prosaic character of the other native ballads dealing with occupations, tragedies, and disasters in being factual rather than fictional. In fact, the tales of girls seduced and murdered seem to be much more numerous in North American than in the British Isles, a situation that led Alan Lomax to comment that Dreiser's version of this plot, *An American Tragedy,* might well have been titled *The American Tragedy* (1947:287).

So one reason for the lack of romantic North American ballads may be the prosaic, down-to-earth attitude of the local bards. However, I think there is another fairly obvious reason. The North American pioneers brought with them from Britain hundreds of the romantic broadsides, so they had plenty of these on hand, and therefore had no need to compose any more.

One interesting point about the British broadsides preserved in North America is the astonishing number of versions of the broken-ring returned-lover plot: the story of the lover who returns after an absence of seven years, encounters his sweetheart who does not recognize him, tests her fidelity by proposing to her, usually telling her that her lover is dead, and finally reveals his identity when the girl proves true. In his section on "Lovers' Disguises and Tricks," Laws listed no less than sixteen ballads that tell this story (Laws 1957:201), and nearly as many more have been reported since. No other group of ballads exhibits this consistency. We must therefore conclude that this simple plot was immensely popular with our early settlers, and again it is interesting to speculate on the reasons. Two points come to mind. First, separated lovers were very common when this continent was being settled: men frequently had to leave their girls behind in Britain, and later those who found sweethearts in the new world often had to leave them when they went west to take up homesteads, or to seek their fortunes in the California or Klondike gold rushes. Thus separations were a familiar part of the new world situation. Second, fidelity was a virtue highly regarded in pioneer societies. Today the man's treatment of the girl would not be condoned, but in earlier times her constancy was a characteristic greatly admired.

Despite the general reliance on British broadsides, there are a few romantic ballads that Laws classified as native North American (1964:229). These fall into two groups: those that are transplanted or adapted British broadsides, and those that appear to have been composed in North America. The first group includes "The Banks of Brandywine" (H28) and "The Blooming Bright Star of Belle Isle" (H29), which tell the familiar story of the returned lover. One of these certainly, and the other probably, beling with the British broadsides.

"The Blooming Bright Star of Belle Isle," long considered a Newfoundland localization of an Irish broadside, now turns out to be not even a localization but a direct transplant. There is a Belle Isle in Northern Ireland situated on the northern end of Upper Lough Erne, and the reference to Lough Erne has survived in the Newfoundland versions. Recently two versions of this ballad have turned up in Ireland. Len Graham, a collector and singer, recorded one version from Hugh Tracey, Boho, County Fermanagh, in 1972. John Moulden, a noted Ulster folklorist who transcribed the Graham version, also received a manuscript copy from an antiquarian bookseller of Ballinahinch, County Down. If only one Irish version had turned up it might be argued that it had been carried back to Ireland by a returning native, but two separate versions from fairly widely separated geographical areas are unlikely to have originated in Canada. John Moulden (1986) has suggested that the ballad might have originated on or been transmitted by ballad sheets because most of the other songs in the manuscript in which it occurred were of broadside origin, and he has also claimed it as Irish from internal evidence.

A direct British original of "The Banks of Brandywine" has not come to light, but its close parallel to the many returned lover ballads and its flowery language suggest that it is merely a transplanted broadside that has been given an American location. Two versions have been reported from Ireland: D.K. Wilgus (1979) noted one stanza collected in Donegal in 1955, and Tom Munnelly collected a full version in Donegal (1984). The latter came from an eighty-one-year-old man who had it from his father, which suggests that like "The Blooming Bright Star of Belle Isle," this also may be an Irish original.

Two of the other romantic ballads that Laws classified as native American are also British broadsides slightly adapted: "The Chippewa Girl" (H10), and "The Little Mohea" (H8). "The Chippewa Girl" is obviously a North American variant of the Scottish ballad, "The Braes of Strathblane." If we compare "The Braes of Strathblane" that Kidson (1891:90) picked up from a girl in Dumfriesshire and which, he noted, had later been found on a ballad sheet, with "The Chippewa Girl" that Roy Mackenzie found in Nova Scotia (1928:150), we see that both tell exactly the same story and many of their lines are practically identical. The main change is that the fair maid is no longer "bleaching her clases on the Braes of Strathblane," but is "washing some linens by the Chippewa Stream."

By far the best known of the romantic ballads that Laws listed as Native American is "The Little Mohea" (H8), and again it appears to be a remake of a British broadside, namely "The Indian Lass." True, there is some room for argument as to which came first, for Phillips Barry thought that "The Little Mohea" was originally the story of a romance between an American pioneer and an Indian girl, that it later became the well known sea song with the setting changed to Maui, and that the English broadside was a remake of the sea song (1933). However, as Laws noted (1964:234), "It seems more logical to believe that the American piece developed from the British one and that the widely distributed 'sea song' with its island setting, rather than the unknown 'pioneer ballad' was the original American version." Also, as "The Indian Lass" appeared on numerous broadsides in England and was recorded from tradition there, while there is no evidence that "The Little Mohea" had any circulation in Britain, it is unlikely that "The Indian Lass" was remade from "The Little Mohea," rather than the other way around. It can also be noted that "The Indian Lass," which is practically unknown in the States, was sung in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Ontario, where a larger proportion of British broadsides than native American ballads have survived. Also, a Newfoundland variant, "The Spanish Lass" (Fowke 1965:148), is obviously modeled on "The Indian Lass," an additional bit of evidence that it was the original.

While most of the romantic ballads Laws lists as native American are really British transplants, there are a few that appear to have been created in America. Their plot usually involves a white man meeting a native girl. The reason of course is that this is a situation that is common in America but not in Britain. "The Little Mohea" could be considered to belong to this group, but as already mentioned it is really adapted from a British ballad, one that does deal with a white man and an Indian girl. Three others do not seem to have direct ancestors in Britain: "The Lake of Ponchartrain" (H9), "On the Banks of the Pamanaw" (H11), and "The Banks of the Gaspereaux" (C26). The first, about a meeting between a sailor and a Creole girl, is somewhat reminiscent of the returned lover ballads, but it is more prosaic and less complete: the girl is waiting for a lover but there is no description of his return. The editors of *The Green Mountain Songster* suggest that the plot is the reverse of "The Little Mohea" and that "It is very probable that the author knew and imitated 'The Little Mohea' " (Flanders 1939:148).

The ballad that Laws listed as "On the Banks of the Pamanaw" is more definitely a North American composition. Its language and plot are less reminiscent of the broadsides than any of the ballads discussed so far, and once again the protagonists are a white man and an Indian girl. It has turned up with various titles: E.C. Beck published it with the one Laws uses: "On the Banks of the Pamanaw," and reported a dozen woodsmen who knew it from Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan (Beck 1941:112). Leach found it in Labrador as "Banks of Panama" (1965:242), Helen Creighton has a Prince Edward Island version as "On the Banks of Permanah" (1962), and there are Newfoundland versions called "On the Banks of Pondamah" and "The Banks of Penmanah" (Peacock 1963:424). However, it seems to have been better known in Ontario than anywhere else: I have it from four different informants, and they all knew it as "The Banks of Pembina" (Fowke 1967:182). I think therefore that it is safe to conclude that this is the original title. Earlier Beck had surmised that the original name was "Pembina" or "Pembine" and suggested several possible locations (1941:112). I think it refers to the Pembina River that flows into Lake Winnipeg.

The third native American original, "The Banks of Gaspereaux," is the most American of all. It tells of a Maine woodsman who falls in love with a native girl while driving logs on the Gaspereaux, a river in New Brunswick. He wants to marry her and take her back to Maine, but she isn't willing to leave her home so the lovers have to part. This has the flavor of other shantyboy ballads, and Barry thinks it was one of the oldest of them, probably "going back to the square-timber era when Maine men worked on Canadian drives" (1933 No. 5:14).

It may also be noted that one of the best known Canadian songs, "The Red River Valley," originally described a white man's affair with an Indian girl (Fowke 1973:124, 206), and, like "The Banks of the Pembina," it does not seem to have any British ancestor.

Two other native American ballads dealing with love are "The Plain Golden Band" (Laws H17) and "Jack Haggerty" (C25). Neither of these is typical: the first is autobiographical, written by the New Brunswick songmaker Joe Scott, and the second is based on an actual incident. Again, they emphasize the factual nature of American ballads as compared with the fictional British broadsides.

In summary, then, we can conclude that in North America extremely few native romantic ballads have been created, partly because the pioneers were occupied with more practical things, and partly because they had brought with them an abundant store of British broadsides. Several of the ballads Laws listed as native American are actually transplanted or localized broadsides. Only a very few romantic ballads were actually created in America, and most of them dealt with a new situation: the meeting of a white man, representing the old world, and a native girl, representing the new.

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Who Was Isaac Orcutt? This History and Origins of an 18th Century New England Ballad

MELVIN G. WILLIAMS

For nearly a century, students of folklore have known about the events that led to the death of Isaac Orcutt, a tragedy celebrated in one of America's oldest funeral ballads. The young man was going out to cut runners for a sled, one snowy day, and he died when the top of a tree fell over and crushed him.

Until recently the account was thought to have been printed first in 1900 by William Wells Newell in a version of the ballad which has thirty lines:

One Isaac Orcutt was his name,
Who lately into Westfield came,
To cut some timber for a sled,
The snow was deep, he had to wade

Some forty rods to an ash tree.
The top was dry as you may see.
He cut the tree off from the stump,
The top was dry, threw back a chunk

Which flew and struck him in the head
And stunned him though he was not dead.
There the poor senseless creature lay
All the remainder of that day.

No search was made by anyone
Until the setting of the sun
When Mr. Manley and his son
Alarmed set out upon the run.

They soon beheld him with surprise
And gazed on him with steadfast eyes,
The blood had issued from the wound
And thawed a passage to the ground.

They took him up and bore him home,
Put him to bed in a warm room,
They washed his limbs and dressed his wounds
And tried to force some medicine down.

Ali useful remedies were tried
Yet in the evening he died.

(The Whiting Version[1])

Since that early date literary scholars have had an occasional flirtation with Isaac, and since the 1930s three versions of his story have been generally known (see pp. 00-00). All three are included in the Flanders ballad collection at Middlebury College, and the ballad has a place in some of the standard works of American balladry (see Bethke 1970; Coffin 1976; Flanders and Olney 1953; Laws 1964; Newell 1899, 1900; Scott 1916). Yet I knew of no one who had ever known the facts behind the ballad. Though scholars had tried, apparently no one had yet answered the question, "Who was Isaac Orcutt?" So I decided to take on the task of uncovering the story behind the story.

Some of the details are there already in the various texts: the man's full name, his brother's name, the neighbor's name, even the preacher's name (Elder Brown; see pp. 00-00). Granted, two of the three known versions disagree about Orcutt's home town: was it Hartford or Westfield? But those New England cities are only three dozen miles apart and both are less than an hour from where I live. Certainly some genealogical records would set the matter straight, I supposed.

That, however, was more than ten years ago. The road I was to travel twisted and turned and had more than its share of dead ends. There were Orcutts in Massachusetts but apparently never any in Westfield. And from what I could learn there was never a preacher there known as Elder Brown. Nearly one hundred miles to the west there had been some eighteenth-century Orcutts and at least one of them was buried in the town cemetery in Egremont. But records showed no Isaac in this place and, when I originally inquired, nobody there seemed to know anything at all about a funeral ballad.

There were other Orcutts in Greater Hartford, down in Connecticut, but again the names and dates were wrong. What about the *Alcutt* and *Talcutt* variations that had been collected in Vermont? Could either of those names possibly be the one I was seeking and not *Orcutt* at all? Once more, however, the necessary data just didn't materialize.

There was also information to be considered from the earliest known collector of the ballad: the story that the elderly woman who sang the song in 1900, Miss Julia D. Whiting, had learned it from her grandmother, "then a young woman of thirty [who] was living in Amherst, Massachusetts."

Orcutt, the account went on, "went to Westfield to work, and was there killed in an accident" (Wells 1900).[2]

That might mean that some leads would turn up in Amherst, half an hour to the north, so I checked again. Miss Whiting did have grandparents from Amherst, I found, and her father was born there. But overall the results of my labors were no more promising there than the others were before.

All that confusion and contradiction was hardly to be unexpected, I knew. Ballad lore is not famous for its accurate transmission of names and places. Meanwhile, though, there was still a slim chance that the locale might be Hartford, *Vermont* and not Hartford, *Connecticut*, since two versions had been collected fifty years ago in Vermont. (See pp. 00-00 for the Horton and Pinney versions.) Ballad collector Helen Hartness Flanders had supposed that "Olcott Falls, near Hartford, Vermont *may* have been the scene" and she reports having tried to "learn more about the events from which this ballad originated." She found that a Reverend Abram Brown had been ordained in Hartford, Vermont in 1827 and that at least one person called him "Elder Brown" (Flanders 1939). But neither she, some fifty years ago, nor I more recently could uncover anything more conclusive. Both genealogical and legal studies proved valueless.

Were all the versions simply local variants, with original places and family names obscured forever? I was beginning to wonder. Curators of ballad collections, folklorists, and genealogists tried to be helpful and one even signed her letter to me "regretfully yours." But in the end I still lacked anything new. The editor of the *Bay State Historical League Bulletin* ran a query under the headline, "Who was Isaac Orcutt?" but that effort, too, brought no replies at all.

None, that is, until eight years later, in 1985 when to my surprise I heard from a member of the Orcutt family who had learned of my interest in Isaac and his ballad. He didn't have exactly what I needed, but he thought he knew who did, and he offered some suggestions.

Thus my quest was renewed. Joel Orcutt's letter suggested that I should check in Egremont, Massachusetts for evidence of the family. That was the very town I had dismissed years before because the place was too far from Westfield, but this time I phoned the Egremont town clerk to ask for her help. "We don't have any records that far back," she said in response to my questions. But after a pause she offered to "suggest someone else for you to call." Wondering if the next voice I'd hear would have the key to unlock centuries-old secrets, I dialed the town historian. Again my hopes were dashed to hear her say, "I'm sorry that I don't have that information; I'm really sorry." Just as I was thinking that she couldn't possibly be half as sorry as I was, though, she went on to say, "But I can put you in touch with the man who does. I'm sure he knows quite a lot about that family."

And so I made another call and once more explained my quest. This time I heard the welcome reply: "Oh — the Orcutts. Well, yes, I have a whole folder on them. I don't know anything about Isaac, but I seem to remember there was a James Orcutt here . . . married in this town, in fact. You can come out to the house to see what I have if you want."

And so I did, following his directions to the little Berkshire town right at the New York border, through the picturesque center, up to the four corners where finally I found his house. My wife and I stayed for a couple of hours, and we learned a lot about the early history of the region. But something had happened to the Orcutt file, the man told us apologetically, and there wasn't as much that he could do for us as he'd hoped. "Your story sounds right in some way," he said. "There were several Orcutts here at the time. There was James, of course — he was married over at the justice of the peace's house. And then there was a Joseph Orcutt back in 1750s; could he have been the father of those two? And then there's the one buried in town — Margret's her name. But I don't have anything about Isaac, the brother." "No," he went on, "the preacher's name is wrong too — it would have had to be Steele in those days. And there were never any families here with names like Donley or Manly, the people you saw were supposed to be the neighbors. That's too bad."[3]

The drive home seemed to take far longer than the trip there had done, and our disappointment was overwhelming. We had been so close, yet still there was no hard evidence.

Fortunately, though, there are other members of the Orcutt family. One of them, Colonel Hardy Derx, from Texas, put into place two extremely valuable pieces of the puzzle. First, he sent some documents which specifically tie the ballad to the Orcutt family, evidence that both Isaac and his brother James had in fact once lived in Egremont. And second — the most welcome news of all — he could show that the family had moved to a north-of-Albany town variously called Hartford and Westfield.

Here was the long-sought-after proof that the right name was Orcutt and not either Alcutt or Talcott as those other versions had it. The evidence came from a privately printed volume titled *Rushford and Rushford People*, published in 1910 in a tiny western New York community, which not only included the history of the Orcutts who had lived there for a while, a century earlier, but also provided another variant of the ballad. The Orcutt version records eighteen couplets, printed without stanza divisions[4] (see pp. 00-00).

We should keep in mind that this "Orcutt" version is not necessarily more authentic than any of the others. There is no reason, after all, to suppose that the family members themselves were free of the usual tendencies of ballad singers to forget and to adapt the words they sang. But even if they were, the poem as it was printed in Rushford was not written down until more than one hundred years after the event and then not even by a member of the family. As the headnote explains: "An old rhyme relating to the death of one of the family . . . has been handed down to the present by word of mouth." The headnote also claimed — inaccurately — that Hartford, *Vermont* was the community named in the ballad.

The second essential explanation that came from Colonel Derx at last resolved the dilemma of place. Both family and military pension records show that after the Revolutionary War, James Orcutt — the "brother James" of the ballad — moved with his wife and three children from Egremont, in Massachusetts, to a frontier town called Hartford, across the border in New York.

That alone was enough to insure, finally, that the "Hartford" versions of the ballad were historically accurate. But it was not until I had checked the 1790 federal census, looking for the village of Hartford, that even more of the puzzle was solved. At first I was perplexed, for no community called Hartford is listed at all for 1790. James Orcutt is identified as living in Westfield instead. Was there some mistake? Or could it be that Westfield and Hartford were simply different names for the same place — maybe one a neighborhood inside the other? The answer I soon learned from a single sentence in the *History of Washington County, New York* (1979): "HARTFORD: This town was erected from what was then known as Westfield (now Fort Ann), March 12, 1793."

More and more pieces were falling into place. Now it looked as if I might also be able to track down the date of the accident, for I had some other bits and pieces to work with as well. I knew from the census records, for instance, that James Orcutt was "head of household" in 1790 along with another unnamed male over 16, two males under 16, and two females. Since by then there were already two sons (James, born 1781, and Stephen, born 1783) and one daughter (Rachel, born 1786), five of the persons in the household were easily accounted for.

Was Isaac the other, the over-16 male? At this point I could only guess. But it was not as if there were no leads at all. The ballad itself offers some clues, for three of the four versions I had available by then state that Isaac *lately* had come to live with his brother James. The Horton version also gives Isaac's age that tragic winter as "twenty years of age and some odd months." Combined with two other stray bits of evidence, that would be enough to suggest some likely framing dates at least.

Original documents of the Probate Court of Berkshire County, in Massachusetts, tell that in December 1785, "Daniel Loomis the 2nd" became "Guardien unto Isaac Orcutt, a minor son of Joseph Orcutt, late of Egremont."[5] And a military deposition taken years afterward from James' widow Deborah records that they moved "about 1800" to Cato Town, N.Y. Family birth records offer two other significant dates: 1781 as the birth date of their first child in the county where Westfield/Hartford is located, and 1791 as the birth of their fourth child in Cato Town.

Taken together, the evidence suggests no more than about a five-year span: the accident would have happened later than the end of 1785, when Isaac was still a minor in Massachusetts, but before the middle of 1791, when "his brother James" moved west from Hartford, in Washington County, New York.

What were my findings so far? First, that the Isaac of the ballad is in fact an Orcutt with an identifiable history. Second, that there is data to tie him to "his brother James." Third, that Westfield/Hartford in New York state is the place of record. And fourth, that the date is close to 1790.

Two other major pieces still needed to be put into place: the neighbors and the preacher. The three variants of the ballad known before the Orcutt version came to light give three different names — "Daniels," "Lisha Calkins," and "Manley" — to the man who, with his son, "set out upon the run" in search of Isaac. The differences in those names are so sweeping that trying to determine who was really in the Hartford neighborhood that winter had seemed at first to be hardly worth the search. And to make matters even more difficult, the Rushford version offers still another name of its own: "Donley." With that new clue, however, plus the census records, an answer was forthcoming after all — and surprisingly fast.

Next in order, right after James Orcutt's name in the printed summary of the 1790 federal census for Westfield Township, the neighbors are listed as "John Danley" and "John Danley, Jr." I'd found them at last. Except for one letter — and the ballad singers could have easily altered that — here was the name preserved in the Orcutt version.

But was it actually Danley or Donley: which is right? Could the Rushford "Donley" possibly be correct and the census "Danley" have been mis-read from the census-taker's handwriting? In one other instance I knew that the printed census that year made a similar mistake when it lists another townsman as "Labon Bump" when the man actually was named "Laban Bump." The county history also describes a George Donley who was killed in the Civil War, so that appears to have been the correct form of the family name. In the absence of other information, then, it is probable that the neighbors were the Donleys. The location of the accident must have been "forty rods" from James Orcutt's house, in Hartford/Westfield, and close by the Donleys'.

Now what of the man who preached the sermon, identified in three of the four versions as "Elder Brown?" Since the transmission of the ballad over more than a century had managed to keep the neighbor's name intact, in one version at least, surely the name of the preacher of such a small town should have been remembered accurately as well. "Brown" is also a rhyme word in the ballad, so it is all the more likely to have been retained correctly by the many singers over time.

And so it was. The pages of the county history report the coming to Hartford in 1785 of its first pastor, a Baptist from eastern Massachusetts named Amasa Brown. And down only a few paragraphs he is called "Elder Brown." Another piece put into place — very nearly enough to call the puzzle complete.

Still, problems do remain. Where was Isaac buried, for instance? Not surprisingly, local cemetery records provide no evidence that he was buried in Hartford, New York. The ballad itself describes how after the sermon "this corpse with care [was] borne away to mingle with its native clay." Accompanying the Whiting version, too, is a note that presumably he was "brought home to be buried." But where was that — back to Egremont, Massachusetts where he had lived with John Loomiss, his guardian, and where Loomiss is buried? I have no evidence.

Where is there any external evidence of the tragedy? Wouldn't an event of this emotional weight have been mentioned in a parishioner's diary, a town official's journal, or even in an area newspaper?* Shouldn't there also be a court record of a coroner's inquest?

So far I have found none. It was at this point in my study that I wrote in my journal, "To find more answers is a task for another time or another researcher. My work is done." But it was not to be so.

A conversation a few days later with New England's best-known balladeer, Jim Douglass, of Sturbridge, Massachusetts, alerted me to still another variant of the ballad (the Abbott Version; see pp. 00-00). Called "The Ballad of Isaac Abbott," it was printed in 1886 — earlier than any of the versions I had known before. Though shorter than the other versions and with a different name, this ballad not only tells the same story but does it in words that are nearly identical to its counterparts in the other four texts. The town named in this version of the poem is Hartford.

Its collector, illustrator and publisher, E. P. Cranch provides an introductory note which tells that he learned the ballad "more than fifty years ago [that could be in the 1830s] from a nephew of Dr. Noah Webster, of New Haven, Connecticut. He sang it as he had got it from the people. I have never heard the correctness of this version disputed" (Cranch 1886). He also prints the tune to which the ballad was sung.

Interestingly, Cranch is so sure of the authenticity of his source that he has no reason to question the "Hartford" of the lyrics. So when he draws a sketch of Isaac on his horse, riding into Hartford, he has him face a signpost that points to two towns: "Hartford" and "South Windsor." These are neighboring Connecticut towns; there was no question in Cranch's mind about the location. As I had learned, of course, Cranch was mistaken.

So now there were five versions, two of them apparently unknown to ballad scholars before I began my study almost a decade before. And now there was also ample evidence to identify the people and places mentioned in them. Would even more information come to light in the months and years ahead? Would I ever know who wrote the poem? Perhaps. If anyone would find out, I supposed that I would likely be the one. As it turned out, this time the information came right to my mailbox.

An Associated Press story on my decade-long research, picked up by the Sunday New York *Times* (1986), led to my most recent — and perhaps my most significant — discovery. Professor Daniel W. Patterson, folklorist at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, saw the story in the *Times* and wrote me this note:

> In the course of research on Shaker songs I looked at a collection of poems written by Elder Issachar Bates (one of the leading Shakers in the early 19th century) before his conversion to Shakerism. . . . Song 6 in that collection is the ballad about Isaac Orcutt.

Bates, as I was soon to learn, lived in Hartford, New York when the Orcutts were there. His book of songs was published in nearby Salem, New York in 1800. And a copy is preserved in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society, in Worcester.

How remarkable it is that the ballad has changed so little over the years and the miles. Of course there is evidence of the inevitable forgetting and mis-hearing. But in the absence of a granite stone to mark a burial site, the several versions together stand as an appropriate memorial to a man who otherwise would have been forgotten.

Now we know the answer to my question, "Who was Isaac Orcutt?"

THE BALLAD OF ISAAC ORCUTT: Six Versions

The original Bates Version was published as "Song VI" in *New Songs, on Different Subjects*. Salem, New York: Henry Dodd, 1800.

The Orcutt Version appears in Helen J. Gilbert, ed., *Rushford and Rushford People*, Rushford, NY: 1910.

The Abbott Version appears in *The Mournful Ballad of Isaac Abbott* [on the cover]; the title page reads "Isaac Abbott, a ballad of Hartford, North America, with the original air, and illustrated by E.P.C.[ranch], Cincinnati, 1886."

The other three versions are in the Flanders Ballad Collection at Middlebury College and are reprinted with permission.

NOTE: All five versions are keyed to the original Bates version as a norm, except where the Abbott Version adds eight lines [indicated A-1, etc. below]. The half-line refrains of the Abbott version are not printed here.

The Original Version: by Issachar Bates

"Composed on the death of Mr. ISAAC ORCUTT, who was killed by the fall of a tree, in Hartford, state of New-York."

1. Come all you neighboring people wait,
2. While I a doleful scene relate,
3. Of a bright youth as e're you see,
4. Who was kill'd in Hartford by a tree.

5. One *Isaac Orcutt* was his name,
6. Who lately into Hartford came,
7. Resided with his brother *James*,
8. Last Thursday noon, went, as it seems,

9. To cut some timber for a sled,
10. The snow being deep, he had to wade
11. Near forty rods, to an ash tree —
12. The top was dry, as you may see.

13. He cut the tree off from the stump.
14. The top being lodg'd, threw back a chunk,
15. Which flew and stuck him on his head,
16. And crush'd him — yet he was not dead.

17. There the poor sufferer senseless lay,
18. All the remainder of that day;
19. His charming face plung'd in the snow,
20. While from his head the blood did flow.

21. His friends and neighbors being gone,
22. Not knowing that he had withdrawn,
23. No search was made by any one,
24. Until the setting of the sun —

25. Till Mr. *Danly* and his son
26. Alarm'd, set out upon the run.
A-1.
A-2.
A-3.
A-4.
27. They soon beheld him with surprise,
28. And gaz'd on him with steadfast eyes.

29. They then suppos'd him to be dead,
30. Till by a motion of his head
31. They found that in him life was left —
32. He stirr'd his head, drawing his breath.

33. One of his hands was stiffly froze,
34. Part of his arms, some of his toes;

35. The blood had issued from his wound,
36. And thaw'd a passage to the ground.
37. O! 'twas an awful sight to see
38. So fair and sprightly a youth as he,
39. All crush'd and crippled in a heap —
40. 'Twould make the stoutest heart to weep.

41. They took him up and bore him home,
42. Put him to bed in a warm room;
43. They rubb'd his limbs and dress'd his wound,
44. And strove to force a cordial down

45. But all in vain, the passage choked,
46. His blood was chill'd, his skull was broke;
47. All useful medicines were applied,
48. Yet he on that same evening died.

A-5.
A-6.
A-7.
A-8.

49. The heavy news did soon arrive
50. To his dear friends and relatives,
51. Which filled their hearts with bitter grief,
52. But he was past all their relief.

53. When all his friends had gather'd round.
54. A sermon preach'd by Elder *Brown*,
55. His corpse with care was borne away,
56. To mingle with its native clay.

57. He was but twenty years of age,
58. And some odd months, as we allege;
59. He was both sprightly, fair, and kind,
60. Belov'd by every civil mind.

61. Think on his virtue, weeping friends,
62. Mourn not from him, but for your sins;
63. For sin is the procuring cause
64. That brings God's judgment unawares.

65. Let this a warning be to all,
66. It is our great Creator's call;
67. Methinks I hear his word abroad,
68. Saying, "Prepare to meet your GOD.'

The Horton Version:

1. Come all you young people far and near,
2. A true relation you shall hear
3. Of a young man as you shall see
4. Was killed in Hartford by a tree.

5. One Isaac Alcutt was his name,
6. Who lately into Hartford came,
7. Residing with his brother James.
8. Last Thursday noon went, as it seems,

9. To cut some timber for a sled,
10. The snow being deep, he had to wade
11. Near forty rods to an ash tree.
12. The top was dry as you may see.

13. He cut the tree off the stump,
14. The top being dry, threw back a clump.
15. It fell and struck him on the head
16. And smote him down, yet was not dead.

17. There this poor sufferer senseless lay
18. All the remainder of that day.
19. His charming face plunged in the snow,
20. And from his head the blood did flow

21. His friends and neighbors being gone,
22. Not knowing that he had withdrawn,
23. No search was made by any one
24. Until the setting of the sun.

25. Then Mr. Daniels and his son
26. Alarmed, set out on the run.
27. They soon beheld him with surprise
28. And gazed on him with steadfast eyes,

29. They first supposed him to be dead
30. Till by some motion of his head
31. They found that life was in him left,
32. He moved his head, drawing his breath.

37. Oh, 'twas an awful sight to see
38. So fair and sprightly youth as he
39. All coiled and crippled in a heap,
40. 'Twould cause the stoutest heart to weep.

33. One of his hands was stiffly froze,
34. Part of his arms, some of his toes,
35. The blood had issued from the wound
36. And thawed a passage to the ground.

41. They took him up and bore him home,
42. Put him to bed in a warm room,
43. They rubbed his limbs and dressed his wounds
44. And tried to force some cordial down.

45. But all in vain, the passage choke;
46. His blood was chilled, his skull was broke.
47. All useful medicines were applied,
48. But he on that same evening died.

49. The heavy news did soon arrive
50. To his dear friends and relatives,
51. It filled their hearts with bitter grief,
52. But he was past all their relief.

53. When all his friend had gathered round,
54. A sermon preached by Elder Brown,
55. His pleasant corpse was borne away
56. To mingle with his native clay.

57. He was but twenty years of age
58. And some odd months, as we are alleged.
59. He was both virtuous, fair, and kind,
60. Beloved by every civil mind.

61. Think on his virtues, weeping friends,
62. Mourn not for him, but for your sins,
63. For sin is the procuring cause
64. That brings God's judgment unawares.

65. Let this a warning be to all
66. To be prepared when God shall call.
67. Methinks I hear his voice aloud
68. Saying, "Prepare to meet your God."

The Whiting Version:

5. One Isaac Orcutt was his name,
6. Who lately into Westfield came,
9. To cut some timber for a sled,
10. The snow being deep, he had to wade

11. Some forty rods to an ash tree.
12. The top was dry as you may see.
13. He cut the tree off from the stump,
14. The top was dry, threw back a chunk

15. Which flew and struck him on the head
16. And stunned him though he was not dead.
17. There the poor senseless creature lay
18. All the remainder of that day.

23. No search was made by any one
24. Until the setting of the sun.
25. Then Mr. Manley and his son
26. Alarmed set out upon the run.

27. They soon beheld him with surprise
28. And gazed on him with stedfast eyes,
35. The blood had issued from the wound
36. And thawed a passage to the ground.

41. They took him up and bore him home,
42. Put him to bed in a warm room,
43. They washed his limbs and dressed his wounds
44. And tried to force some medicine down.

47. All useful remedies was tried
48. Yet in the evening he died.

The Orcutt Version:

5. One Isaac Orcutt was his name
6. Who lately into Hartford came
7. Residing with his brother James.
8. One afternoon went so it seems

9. To cut some runners for his sled
10. The snow being deep, he had to wade
11. Near forty rods to an ash tree.
12. The top being dead as you shall see.

13. He cut the tree off from the stump,
14. The top being lodged threw back a chunk
15. Which fell and hit him on the head
16. And crushed him through he was not dead

17. There the poor sufferer senseless lay
18. All the remainder of the day.
19. His charming face plunged in the snow
20. While from his head the blood did flow

23. No search was made by anyone
24. Until the setting of the sun
25. When Mr. Donley and his son
26. Alarmed set out upon the run.

27. They soon beheld him with surprise
28. And gazed on him with steadfast eyes,
29. They then supposed him to be dead
30. Till by a motion of his head.

41. They took him up and bore him home,
42. Put him to bed in a warm room,
43. They rubbed his limbs and dressed his wound
44. And tried to force a cordial down.

45. But all in vain the passage choked,
46. His blood was chilled, his skull was broke.
47. All medicine was then applied
48. But he on that same evening died.

53. The friends and neighbors gathered round
54. The sermon preached by Elder Brown.
55. His corpse with care was borne away
56. To mingle with his native clay.

"The Abbott Version"

1. Come all you neighboring people wait,
2. While I a dreadful tale relate,
3. Of a bright youth as e'er you see
4. Was killed nigh Hartford by a tree.
nigh Hartford by a tree.
[half-line refrain after each verse]

5. One Isaac Abbott was his name,
6. Who lately into Hartford came,
7. Residing with his brother James.
8. Went one day just as it seems, [etc.]

9. To cut some timber for a sled,
10. The snow being deep, he had to wade
11. Nigh forty rods to an ash tree.
12. The top being dry as you may see. [etc.]

13. He hewed it down all from the stump,
14. The top being dry, gone back a chunk
15. Which flew and hit him on the head
16. And smashed him down, yet was not dead. [etc.]

17. There this po' sufferer senseless lay
18. All the remainder of the day.
25. Then Mr. Brown and his young son
26. Alarmed, set out on the full run. [etc.]

A-1. When they started from him, they kept on the go,
A-2. And the way they made tracks was no way slow.
A-3. They arrove when it was just about noon,
A-4. They had no idee they'd get there so soon, [etc.]

27. They gazed on him with sad surprise
28. And view'd him o'er with tearful eyes,
41. They took him up and bore him home,
42. Put him to bed in a warm room, [etc.]

A-5. They sent right off for Dr. Drowth,
A-6. Who put some black stuff into his mouth.
A-7. But this made Isaac much more sick
A-8. And wonderful soon he gave his last kick, [etc.]

53. The neighboring people gathered round,
54. The sermon was preached by Elder Brown,
55. And Isaac with care was borne away
56. To mingle with his native clay, [etc.]

The Pinney Version:

1. Come all kind friends and neighbors wait
2. While I a doleful tale relate;
3. As fine a youth as e're you'd see
4. Was killed in Westfield by a tree.

5. Oneida Talcutt was his name,
7. Residing with his brother James.
9. Went out one day to cut some wood,
14. The tops being dry threw back a chunk.

15. It fell and hit him on the head
16. Crushed him and yet he was not dead.
17. There this poor sufferer senseless lay
18. All the remainder of that day.

23. No help was brought by any one
24. Until the setting of the sun.
25. One Leisha Calkins and his son
26. Alarmed, set out upon the run.

27. They soon beheld him with surprise
28. And gazed on him with steadfast eyes;
41. They took him up and bare him home;
42. Put him to bed in a warm room,

43. They rubbed his limbs and dressed his wounds
44. And tried to force a cordial down —
45. But all in vain; the passage stroke;
46. His blood was chilled, his skull was broke.

53. The friends and neighbors gathered round,
54. The sermon preached by Elder Brown,
55. This corpse with care borne away
56. To mingle with its native clay.

NOTES

1. "The Whiting Version" of the ballad is named for Julia Whiting, who provided a text for William Wells Newell (1900) and other folklorists at the turn of the century.
2. Miss Whiting told the same story to Professor Mary Augusta Scott of Mt. Holyoke College, who reported the account in an unpublished letter to Thornton M. Hinkle of Cincinnati (June 3, 1917): "The original version of this ballad, called 'Isaac Orcutt,' was given to me in 1908 by the late Miss Julia D. Whiting, of Deerfield, Mass. Miss Whiting told me that the ballad was composed by an old lady of Amherst, Mass. and that it was sung by a company of young women dressed in white at Isaac Orcutt's funeral. The young man was a native of Westfield, she said, and the accident took place in 1818. Miss Whiting's grandmother, Catherine Smith, was one of the young women who sang the ballad at the funeral. I heard Miss Whiting sing the ballad. . . . It is a wailing air in B-flat."
3. Conversation with Donald Spurs at his home in Egremont, Massachusetts.
4. "The Orcutt Version" of the ballad is named for the text printed under the heading "The Orcutts" in the local history of a western New York community, Rushford, in which the family lived for a while.
5. Copy of the probate document provided by Hardy Derx, Austin, TX.
6. That such reports were published in the very local newspaper which served Egremont and the Berkshires is illustrated in a report from *The Western Star*, published at Stockbridge, Massachusetts: "A few days since Mr. Joel Deming, of Canaan, in Connecticut, was instantly killed by the falling of a tree which he was cutting down" (February 15, 1791, p. 3).

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Leylines in Modern Britain: The Sacred Geography of a Pilgrimage Site as an Expression of Folk Protest

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Throughout the calendar year 1984 I conducted anthropological research on the Isle of Iona, a Christian pilgrimage site in the Scottish Inner Hebrides. The purpose of my research was to explore how pilgrims interpret their experience on the island, specifically in occasions of religious ritual. In the course of my research I frequently encountered folklore concerning "leylines" or simply "leys," i.e., "earth energy" emanating from and interconnecting certain pilgrimage sites, including Iona and other sacred places throughout the British Isles. This brief article characterizes key elements of ley folklore as a sacred dimension of folk geography expressing one form of folk protest to the industrialized, urban landscape on the mainland. As a final note, ley folklore is discussed in relation to the competing worldviews of socio-religious movements which meet on Iona, but operate throughout Britain in rejection of official interpretations of reality offered by academic, religious and government institutions.

Iona in History

Iona's importance as a pilgrimage site rests officially and chiefly on historical associations with Saint Columba, an Irishman of royal descent often remembered today as the founder of Scottish Christianity. Scholarly accounts of Columba have been devoted to his personality, saintly activities and to his impact on Scottish history (Finlay 1979; MacQuarrie 1983; Menzies 1970; Reith 1979; Skene 1877; Smyth 1984). The principal source of historical data concerning Columba is provided by Saint Adamnan (Fowler, translator, 1894), ninth abbot of Iona, in his *Life of Columba* (circa 680 A.D.). With its three chapter headings roughly entitled "Prophecies," "Miracles," and "Visions," Adamnan's document was apparently designed to enhance claims for Columba's sainthood. Nevertheless, the document does provide valuable information concerning Columba's activities in sixth century Scotland.

According to ancient traditions (both oral and written), Columba was exiled from his native Donegal in northwestern Ireland as a result of two controversial deeds which invoked the disfavor of Diarmait, High-King of

Ireland. Apparently, Columba transcribed a sacred manuscript in the possession of his friend, St. Finnian of Moville. King Diarmait subsequently judged that Columba made the copy clandestinely and that it should remain in the custody of Finnian. Columba then offered his prayers, highly regarded as efficacious, to the Christian God on behalf of King Cormac and his army in opposition to Diarmait in the Battle of Cul Drebene. After three thousand of Diarmait's men were slain, the battle was interpreted as evidence for the superior power of Christianity over Diarmait's pagan forces. Columba was accused of causing the slaughter of Diarmait's men and was excommunicated by priests jealous of his spiritual power. Columba's life then took a new direction. He dedicated his life to peaceful purposes and in 563 A.D. departed from Ireland in a small coracle with twelve followers. In the same year, the coracle reached a small bay on the southern coast of Iona. Near the northern end of the island, where the landscape is somewhat protected from Atlantic winds and where the soil is more fertile, the expatriates established what would become the pre-eminent Celtic monastery in Scotland.

Adamnan's account of Columba's activities in Scotland suggests extensive missionary-like efforts among the Picts. His account briefly describes the consecration of King Aedan by Columba in 574, the first known instance of this ceremony in Europe to utilize the "laying-on of hands" (MacQuarrie 1983:8-9), and includes the earliest documented reference to the Loch Ness monster which Columba defeated, but did not slay, with his exceptional holy power (Smyth 1984:85). After Columba's death and burial on Iona in 597, the island served as the central Celtic monastery in Scotland and Ireland, the principal burial site for Scottish clan chiefs, and as the pilgrimage site associated with the "cult of Columba" (Iona Inventory 1982:48). Successive Viking raids which eventually destroyed the monastery necessitated the removal of Columba's relics to Ireland in 878.

About 1200 A.D. the ruling family of Argyll ended direct Irish influence on Iona by allowing an independent house of Benedictine monks to establish an abbey on the site of Columba's original monastery. The Medieval and Reformation periods of Ionan history are obscure, yet MacQuarrie (1983:21-25) has interpreted the decay of the ecclesiastical settlement during those years in the context of clan rivalries between Campbells and MacLeans concerning the disputed ownership of Iona. However, clan rivalries occurred in conjunction with the rise of industrialism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, an economic process resulting in the forced migration of many Scottish tenants from the highlands and island (see Prebble 1963). Iona's decline during the historical period perhaps should be interpreted in the overall context of industrial development.

Drawings made by travelers in 1761, 1772, 1815, 1850 and 1874 offer a visual record of the physical disintegration of Iona Abbey (Iona Inventory 1982:50-56). In 1899 the eighth Duke of Argyll transferred the deed to the abbey and other ecclesiastical ruins on Iona to a group of Church of Scotland trustees who were placed in charge of the abbey's restoration.

However, it was not until 1938 that the restoration began in earnest when the Reverend George MacLeod (now Lord Fuinary) founded the Iona Community with the immediate task of rebuilding monastic structures adjacent to the abbey church as a sign of Christian renewal in economically depressed Scotland.

The cooperative effort of clergymen and craftsmen during the rebuilding of Iona Abbey symbolized MacLeod's vision of Christian praxis in twentieth century Europe. Clergy-craftsmen cooperation symbolized both reconciliation along class lines and the integration of work and worship, i.e., the "secular" and the "sacred." The theme of reconciliation on local and national levels found further expression with clear international implications through MacLeod's pacifism and strong commitment to nuclear disarmament. With headquarters in Glasgow and Edinburgh, the Iona Community today comes under the jurisdiction of the Church of Scotland, but its 175 "full members" and over 700 "associates" represent several denominations, Protestant and Roman Catholic. During the summer months of each year, the Community provides over one hundred weekly resident-guests in Iona Abbey with a program of religious education and ritual observances designed specifically to glorify God, to challenge the established churches and hopefully to alter urban living conditions in Scotland along the lines of MacLeod's original vision.

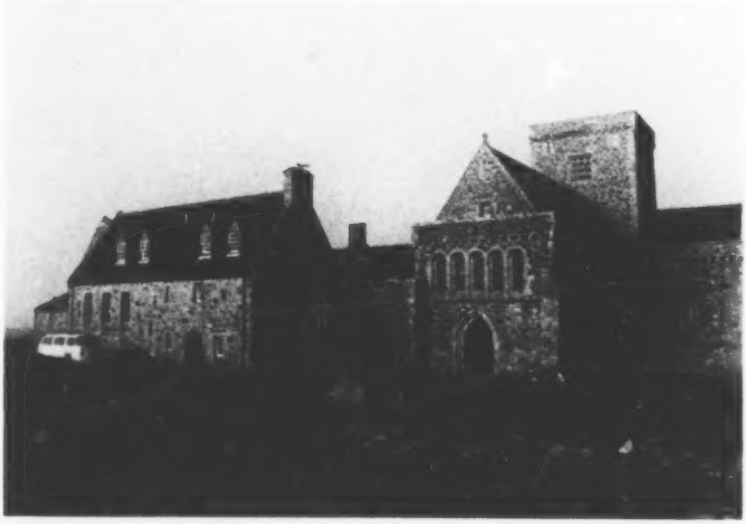

Figure 1

In its recently reconstructed form, Iona Abbey stands on the northern end of the Isle of Iona. Some ley believers maintain that a leyline, connecting the Isle of Iona with Glastonbury, England, runs directly under the abbey. Photo by the author, 1984.

Leyline Beliefs as a Domain of Folklore

Ley folklore can present analytic difficulties on several levels of interpretation. A major source of these difficulties pertains to the nature and function of folklore in the contextual milieu of complex societies. Generally, folklore concerning leylines is peripheral to the official, scholarship-based accounts of Ionan and Columban history as previously discussed. Following sections of this paper suggest that leyline folklore represents one way of interpreting the meaning of local pilgrimage sites which provides an alternative to official interpretations supported by academic and religious institutions. Folk protest through alternative interpretations of the pilgrimage site can be manifested in ways other than leyline folklore. For example, the beliefs and practices of the Iona Community in Iona Abbey represent what Community members often refer to as the "tradition of folk protest" to oppressive social institutions. While Community members do not include beliefs about leylines in their Christian and socialist vision for social change, they do provide informal interactional settings in Iona Abbey where ley folklore is, at times, discussed within the broad framework of alternative lifestyles. In any event, pilgrimage in this region of Europe should be regarded not only as variable forms of "spiritual quest," but also as variable forms of "spiritually informed protest."

Difficulties also arise in any analytical specification of the population of ley believers. Normally ley believers have no vested interests in preserving official interpretations of the pilgrimage site's significance *vis-à-vis* the church. That is to say, I encountered only two clergymen who attributed any credence to "earth energy" emanating from any pilgrimage sites and their beliefs were considered private. Most clergymen visiting Iona had no knowledge of ley folklore prior to my queries concerning the matter. One can characterize the population of ley believers generally as people who believe they have severely restricted access to power held by existing social institutions. Of course, not all people who feel a sense of alienation believe in leylines. Conversations about leylines are more likely to occur discreetly among people who know each other well as an exchange of essentially private information about their pervious experience and/or expectations about experience on the pilgrimage site. Conversations rarely occur in the presence of clergy or scholars often regarded by the ley believer as guardians of political interests embedded in oppressive social institutions. Lastly, while some ley believers identify themselves as people with no organized religious affiliation, all believers utilize ley folklore as an expression of their own search for spiritual truth.

In conversations about leylines, people commonly interject, "they've done studies of them, y'know." Only two of twenty respondents on Iona could report direct knowledge of the content of these studies. Conversational references to the mere existence of specialized inquiry can add a sense of credibility to ley folklore, although most academicians would evaluate these studies as on the fringe of acceptable scholarship. In actuality, writers such as Devereux and Thomson (1979) in *The Ley Hunter's Companion* and McKerracher (1986a, 1986b) in *The Scots Magazine*, a well-established publication for the layman, have both popularized and standardized the idea of "leylines." These writers trace the origin of "ley theory" to Alfred Watkins (1922), an Englishman who experienced a sudden "flood of ancestral memory" during his visit to the local Blackwardine countryside in 1921. Watkin's intuitive "discovery" resulted in two principal claims. First, many pre-industrial landscape features, e.g., traditional wells, old roads, churches, castles, standing stones, stone circles, mounds and certain clumps of trees, are oriented with respect to each other in straight alignments. Second, these alignments provide evidence of an ancient knowledge of the landscape for practical and ceremonial purposes.

Watkins referred to these alignments in a general, matter-of-fact way as "old straight tracks." In the late 1920's he formed the "Straight Track Portfolio Club" with members who organized fieldtrips and exchanged ideas about Watkin's new discovery. According to Devereux and Thomson (1979:11), these fieldtrips included expeditions to chosen areas in "fleets of cars." Watkin's death in the 1930's and the cultural disruption of World War II facilitated the club's disbandment in 1948. To characterize a poetic quality and at least one practical function of these "straight tracks," Watkins also adopted, on the basis of debatable etymological considerations, the term "ley." According to Watkins, "ley" is derived from the Anglo-Saxon term "lea," meaning "a tract of open land, meadow or pasture." Watkins cited the *Oxford English Dictionary* to associate "ley" with the Latin *lucas*, "grove," and *lucere* (root: *leuq-*), "to shine." Watkins argued that fiery beacons and reflective ponds may have been utilized by prehistoric people to lay out and check ley alignments. In conversational usage on Iona today, the terms "ley" and "leyline" are heard exclusively. The range of meanings associated with 'leyline" pertains more to the term's poetic quality with regard to a place's "energy," than to the less connotative meaning of "track." As exemplified in the following sections of this paper, the meaning of "ley" has been extended from Watkin's original "flood of ancestral memory" as *evidence for* prehistoric knowledge to include, among other things, the *experience of* sacred energy emanating from and interconnecting current pilgrimage sites.

Recent investigations of "earth energy" by ley specialists attempt to establish an objective basis for this type of "subjective" experience. One specialized magazine, *The Ley Hunter*, not only disseminates technical information among a limited readership, but also sponsors an on-going investigation called the "Dragon Project" which searches with the aid of psychic, dowsing and scientific methods for evidence of "energies" at prehistoric sites rather than on leys *per se* (Devereux 1983:13). Fidler (1983), a retired entomologist trained at Cambridge and Reading University, adds a more complex dimension to "ley theory" through his extensive use of the dowsing method. On the basis of statistical calculations, Fidler suggests the term "petron" to describe the variable "charge" of stones affected by ley energy. His research, in effect, elaborates on the results of dowsing experiments reported posthumously by Underwood (1969) pertaining to underground streams which form a vast "geodetic" system. Underwood believed that much of the spatial pattern of the prehistoric and contemporary landscape conforms to lines of invisible "geodetic force."

Occasional BBC television programs interpret British leylines, Stonehenge, Peruvian Nazca tracks, Chinese *feng shui* and other 'earth mysteries" as evidence for forgotten, yet somehow interconnected and highly evolved, if not extra-terrestrially inspired (see Von Daniken 1970, 1972), forms of folk geography. These BBC programs and *The Ley Hunter* create a feeling of excitement stimulated by the continual "rediscovery" of ancient, esoteric knowledge now made available to all people. The notion of "leyline" as a patterned form of "earth energy" has also been expressed in science fiction novels, e.g., Holdstock's (1984) *Mythago Wood* which won the "World Fantasy Award," and descriptions of "habitable landscapes" offered by unorthodox religious "visionaries" in the United States (see Adler 1979:225-264, for a discussion of what she calls "pagan reconstructionism"). Although such media-based accounts and visionary images may not represent the average ley believer's working knowledge of the subject, they accurately portray his/her commitment to spiritual and holistic lifestyles. Despite variation in ley folklore reported by individual believers, the following view of two ley specialists (Devereux and Thomson 1979:7-8), in fact, corroborates the sentiments of non-specialists as recorded in my fieldnotes:

> They see ley hunting as the rediscovery of fresh patterns of understanding regarding ourselves and our planet. These patterns are not new, having been employed by people of remote antiquity, a people so distant from our view of the world, so alien to our interpretation of reality, as to be almost like another species of being. This type of ley hunter believes that because of the completely different approach to things by these prehistoric people, the nature of their culture has been misunderstood by modern archaeologists who have superimposed their contemporary ideas on the prehistoric remains they have studied.

Ley folklore and "theory" might exemplify a subjective, romantic and antiquarian, i.e., nineteenth century version, of naturalistic philosophy resting on the trappings of science, rather than on the experimental approach of falsification favored by the intelligensia. While I do not regard archaeology as an ethnocentric discipline, my goal here is neither to choose sides in a controversy nor to challenge the reality status of leylines. Leyline folklore is interpreted in the present paper as one domain of folk geography concerned with experiencing the "sacred" in the landscape and expressing political and religious protest to what academic geographers would call the "built environment" in industrial Britain today.

Ley Folklore on Iona

Ley folklore is expressed in conversational form as special information about a place, a person's experience of a place, or about the environment in general; it never appears in the form of a story or legend with a special message. Nevertheless, ley folklore carries a distinct moral tone, implicit or explicit, characterizing a person's orientation to the landscape. The following text elicited from a Scottish pilgrim, who requested to be identified by her secret Gaelic name "Siobhan" (an idiosyncratic practice), represents the overall character of ley folklore in conversation:

> Leylines are really interesting. If you look at maps you can trace them. Old town halls and churches have been built on them through the centuries; in each historical period buildings are built on them throughout. It's something that's in books. There are leylines on Iona also: why else is the abbey here? I spoke to Fiona about it; she had never heard the name, but she knew what was being said. Eric knows all kinds of things about the earth and the power of the earth. A woman I met in Glastonbury also comes here. That's an incredible place as well cause one strong line connects Glastonbury with Iona. It's a natural place to come. There are homeopathic healing centers in Glastonbury; it's quite acceptable here as a form of medicine, even through a lot of people go to them as a last resort.

The defining features of ley folklore are outlined below through an inventory of seven principal categories and subcategories of folk knowledge conveyed either in spontaneous conversations or in pre-arranged, tape-recorded, ethnographic interviews. Verbal exchanges among the many non-specialists convey information in a piecemeal fashion and may include only a few categories of information about leylines. The uncommon specialist, possessing a more complete knowledge, may utilize the entire inventory. Illustrated descriptions of each category provided here briefly suggest the overall significance of ley folklore in the broader worldview of the ley believer.

(1) *description* (subcategories - *direction, composition*):

Leylines are composed of invisible energy described through metaphorical comparisons, e.g., "leylines are made of energy like God's power lines" or "they're like auras" (i.e., layers of light-energy believed to encompass the human body). Ley energy flows in directional, straight paths which connect prominent pilgrimage sites. "Size" is included in descriptions of leylines by Devereux and Thomson (1979:35-36). They refer to wide leys stretching for long distances as "geomantic corridors." However, none of my respondents on Iona mentioned the size of leylines.

(2) *source* (subcategories - *natural/man-made*):

Unlike auras which have their source in the human body, leys are exterior to people having their source in the earth. Both auras and leys are regarded as "natural" as opposed to "man-made" supplies of energy. For the ley believer, however, "natural" components of the landscape are "spiritual" in essence. That is to say he/she makes no strict distinction between the material universe and spiritual presence, except with some types of landscape features regarded as "man-made."

In connection with the dowsing method of ley detection (discussed below), ley energy is associated with underground supplies of water and naturally formed wells believed to be sacred in traditional Celtic folklore throughout the British Isles (see Grant 1961 and Ross 1976 for additional information). In the highlands and islands of Scotland, wells found on hills of high elevation are believed to have potent healing powers. The fact that a sacred well on Iona is found on Dun I, the island's highest elevation (332 ft.), suggests not only special significance for the Iona leyline, but also a conceptual linkage between current ley folklore and traditional healing practices considered "natural" and holistic.

(3) *alignment*:

The ley believer maintains that pilgrimage sites are aligned with respect to each other on the basis of the directional flow of single or crossing leylines, i.e., pilgrimage sites are "connected" or "linked" in a spatial as well as spiritual sense. One visitor explains the meaning of alignments:

> It's obvious leylines are going to link up. If people build on places where leylines cross, then it's obvious they are significant places.

Some pilgrims on Iona regard one ley connecting Iona with Glastonbury Abbey in Somerset, England, with special significance. Many Scottish and English pilgrims esteem both places as centers for divine healing, holistic medicine and for the rediscovery of Celtic Christianity or the "old religion," i.e., religious practice before the appearance of institutionalized Roman Catholicism in Britain. Following a conspicuous pattern, Scots ley believers never associate Canterbury, the Anglican Archbishop's seat, with ley alignments. On the other hand, English pilgrims on Iona may include Canterbury in a more complex configuration of alignments: one ley connects Glastonbury Abbey with Iona; another connects Glastonbury Abbey with Canterbury.

(4) *detectability*:

Leylines are not encountered directly; however, the effect of ley energy can be detected in several ways. Utilizing the dowsing method, the specialist employs either a dowsing rod or a pendulum to detect ley energy. Spontaneous motions produced in these hand-held tools are attributed to the ley's force. Both specialists and non-specialists detect the effect of ley energy either spontaneously or through prayer and meditation as an enhanced sense of personal well-being. According to Siobhan:

> Old stones and just natural stones are powerful. I'm not sure if the abbey works like a funnel of energy. There are places that draw energy. I've been to places where I can feel it; quite natural sorts of places. One was a church with a wall around it. I felt a real surge of energy. You find inner peace; it just comes over you.

(5) *alterability*:

The actions of people can alter the impact of ley energy rendering it either useless or harmful. Parts of the man-made landscape, e.g., roadways connecting Glastonbury with London, are believed to disrupt the flow of ley energy. Allusions to large scale disruption, reported through rhetorical statements such as "can you imagine what the impact must be," signify the widely-shared sentiment among ley believers that the industrial landscape is in a state of spiritual disharmony with the natural environment.

Some ley believers maintain that household dwellings should be constructed only after the chosen site has been dowsed by a ley specialist as a test for possible disruption. Disruption by house placement is, at times, believed to cause chronic interpersonal problems in households. On Iona a "diagnosis" of ley disruption was made on the basis of a history of in-

Figure 2

Popularly labelled as the "hermit's cell," this archaeological configuration on Iona's landscape attracts a small group of ley believers. Ley energy is thought to be easily detectable at this popular place for silent meditation. Photo by the author, 1984.

terpersonal problems manifested by a series of families consecutively occupying the same house. The mis-placement of the house on the Iona-Glastonbury leyline apparently produced a harmful effect on the emotions of the occupants. Insofar as the large size of the house prohibited any movement of the entire structure, a ley specialist from the mainland was employed. He accomplished his task by "masking" the ley's "charge" with a small iron stake driven into the ground near the housesite (see Fidler 1983 for a technical discussion of this process). The iron stake was believed to absorb harmful energy. Another ley specialist suggested that spreading quartz crystals on the affected area would have served the same "masking" function.

(6) *age*:

In the words of one ley believer, "leylines were laid down by God at the Creation." Compared with folklore concerning other pilgrimage sites in Britain, the age of Iona's ley energy is particularly significant. People familiar with regional natural history often inform the novice of Iona's geological age and composition: predominately Lewisian Gneiss formed in pre-Cambrian times, i.e., 2.5 billion years B.P. (see Viner 1979 for additional geological data). Conveyed in conjunction with ley folklore, references to Iona's great age attest to the island's reputation as a center for healing and allude to a "timeless" quality associated with experience there. Widely-known among Scotsfolk, a traditional Gaelic prophecy attributed to Saint Columba is occasionally heard as a vague, but poetic, expression of this quality:

Iona of my heart, Iona of my love,
Instead of monk's voices
Shall be the lowing of cattle;
But ere the world come to an end
Iona shall be as it was.

The great geological age and timeless quality attributed to Iona emphasizes not only the existential significance of this site for pilgrims in general, but also the seemingly indisputable sentiment among ley believers that modern universities have educated the clergy exclusively in the moral intricacies of social and political issues, rather than with an understanding of the spiritually charged natural world associated with the "old religion."

(7) *function*:

Most believers utilize ley energy to heal physical ailments and general emotional problems associated with stress produced by industrialized, urban existence. However, a person's mere presence on Iona facilitates healing, regardless of his/her awareness of or belief in ley energy. Ley specialists occasionally conduct workshops in one of the two small hotels on Iona to inform interested folk about meditation techniques which enhance their awareness of ley energy and "latent powers" of healing. Some folk healers who are familiar with the Eastern "chakra" system of energy flow in the

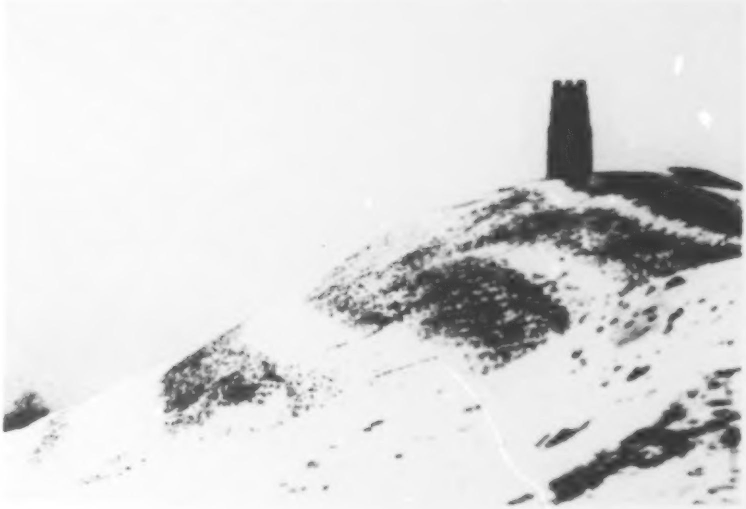

Figure 3
Glastonbury Tor, a locally well-known landscape feature associated with ley energy (Somerset, England). Ley believers often report that the man-made earthen mound and stone tower act as a "funnel" for ley energy. Photo by the author, 1984.

human body (see MacManaway 1983) make an analogy between spinal energy centers and the earth's ley centers. This analogy involves a correspondence between the microcosm (body) and macrocosm (earth) reminiscent of the more complex cosmological systems found in kabbalism and alchemy. The crucial point is that a belief in the existence of healing energy accessible to all individuals without regard to religious affiliation or clerical status provides a significant component in the making of an anticlerical movement.

Ley Folklore and Socio-Religious Movements on Iona

On a nationally recognized pilgrimage site visited by people with diverse socio-religious affiliations, the symbolic apparatus with which a person attains a sense of personal well-being can have economic and political ramifications. Iona has certainly developed popular attraction not only because of official interpretations of the island's significance, viz., Iona's Columban legacy, but also because of ley folklore. On that basis alone, one can argue that ley folklore has inadvertently contributed to economic growth *vis-à-vis* a developing touristic industry in a traditionally depressed region of Britain. However, ley folklore does create social tension among members of competing socio-religious movements. While these movements all highly esteem Iona, they differ in their interpretations for the island's significance. In this regard I will discuss briefly three movements: the New Age movement, the Iona Community, and the charismatic movement operating chiefly within the Anglican Church in England.

In terms of its principal concerns, the New Age movement observed throughout Britain represents a non-political counterpart to the Green Party in West Germany. These spiritually minded and ecologically oriented people generally profess allegiance to no organized creeds. The New Age movement in Scotland is often associated with Findhorn, a small community on the northeastern coast founded by Peter and Eileen Caddy in 1962 (see Hawken 1975 for a sympathetic journalistic account). Today, the Findhorn Foundation sponsors workshops in a variety of matters including techniques for deep meditation and an ecological philosophy which incorporates the belief in vegetation spirits, or "devas," with ley energy. Because Iona is considered a center for ley energy, the Findhorn Foundation has established a retreat house on Iona and a communal colony on Erraid, a nearby island.

Although the various movements co-exist peacefully on Iona, members of the politically active Iona Community regard ley folklore as a potential source of problems connected with their sometimes controversial public image. Journalists from Glasgow and Edinburgh often assume that if some people believe Iona is a center for ley energy, then they also believe that Iona is "closer to God" than the mainland. The Isle of Iona and its reconstructed abbey provide a populist and nationalistic symbol contributing to the Iona Community's efforts in pragmatic change throughout Britain. Any impression of Christian "heresy" linked with the Community's work on Iona could, of course, undermine their efforts. As a result, most Community members, unlike their New Age neighbors, are anxious to say that Iona is not different from other places, at least in any metaphysical sense.

Members of the Iona Community who privately give credence to leyline folklore find themselves in a cognitively difficult situation. One member of the Community, formerly an active co-ordinator of an Anglican charismatic prayer group, suggested the following explanation after lengthy deliberation:

> The reason Iona is special is not because of the false idea that God is closer to Iona, but because it's the other forces that feel threatened. They have to attack more because people come here looking for good.

This person continued to explain that Iona radiates positive spiritual energy or "light" as a result of the expectations of pilgrims. These expectations attract negative forces or "darkness" which further enhance the impact of positive spiritual energy. In other words, Iona is special in a spiritual sense, but not on the basis of ley energy or other inherent features of the place itself.

Members of the Anglican charismatic movement express renewed interest in religious pilgrimage and divine healing. On Iona their public interpretations of the healing process carefully avoid any references to ley energy or the direct utilization of ley energy by individuals. Interpretations often do include references to cosmological warfare between the forces of light and darkness, i.e., good and evil. People who express interest in the utilization of ley energy without the mediation of Jesus Christ are viewed as misguided at best. Insofar as the Iona Community has a visibly dominant, Christian presence on the island, charismatics do not believe Iona is a spiritually harmful place. However, some charismatics admit experiencing fear when they visit Glastonbury, a place they regard as a center for "Druidic witchcraft" and "satanic cult" activity under the disguise of holistic medicine. A leader in the charismatic movement reported to me privately that ley energy exists, but it has been subverted by the agents of hostile spiritual forces. He would prefer its proper use by the Anglican clergy. Not surprisingly, one ley specialist and a well-known folk healer in Scotland expressed to a small, informal gathering on Iona some personal reassurance at the repeal of Scotland's Witchcraft Act in 1951, a law which could have authorized his arrest.

Concluding Remarks

These brief anthropological notes have characterized key elements of ley folklore as a form of folk geography in a society where some people are re-defining forms and functions of the 'sacred" experienced through the landscape. In my opinion, current ley folklore, perhaps, should be interpreted broadly as one response to conditions of social, economic and religious unrest in twentieth century Britain. Historical precedents to the current popularity of ley folklore may be found in the so-called "Gnostic heresies" which have periodically challenged the institutions of Christendom since the third century A.D. Viewed in that perspective, further analysis of ley folklore might enhance our understanding of folk geography as it relates to complex relationships between political power and religious organization.

NOTES

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Military Folklore and the Underwood Collection

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Although countless young men and women have seen service in the major wars in which America and its allies have been involved this century, the folklore of the armed services has not been very systematically collected and studied. A certain amount of material dealing mostly with the superstitions, customs, traditions, cadences and songs of the services has accumulated in the archives established in the American universities where folklore studies are well-established, and there is a substantial collection of manuscripts and recordings in the Archive of Folksong at the Library of Congress, but the whole question of the cultural behavior of men and women in uniform has largely eluded the attention of folklorists and of academics generally.

The select, annotated bibliography that accompanies this article indicates that only limited academic attention has been directed to the analysis of the specialized language, nicknames, slang, tall tales and songs of the services. However, the latter have attracted considerable attention from commercial publishers in the form of numerous collections, mostly bowdlerized and nearly all unblessed by much attempt at reproducing even the barest information about origins, sources, circumstances of composition, details of performance or the musical idiom in which they circulated. The only works in this genre that could be described as scholarly are those of Dolph (1929), Ward-Jackson (1945), Silber (1960), Winstock (1970), Paredes (1976), Palmer (1977) and Getz (1981 and 1986). I have cited a number of general folksong collections which contain military items, along with a variety of recordings and cassette tapes which have been commercially marketed.

In addition, hundreds of ephemeral compilations of the songs of various services units survive in leaflet and cyclostyled forms in private libraries and accumulations of militaria, but to the best of this writer's knowledge, there have been only occasional efforts by particular collectors to put them into any kind of archival or bibliographic order. There are remarkably few field recordings, either of songs or narratives, and most of them were made in Vietnam. The military branch of occupational folklore has been largely relegated to scholarly obscurity perhaps because of the hazards and difficulties of work in the field, the obscenity of much of the material (which until recent years has imposed publication difficulties) and possibly a disinclination to become involved with this area of experience by those of

Agnes Underwood, 1946.

liberal disposition. All this makes the initial enterprise of Agnes Nolan Underwood, a charter member and former Vice-President of the New York Folklore Society more remarkable.

At Russell Sage College in New York State in 1946, Agnes Underwood was teaching freshman composition and literature to classes of veterans from diverse parts of the huge U.S. war machine. It was an exciting experience which she found different from any teaching she had done before because of the enthusiasm and determination of these young men who were keen to take advantage of the G.I. Bill and to push on with their careers.

Agnes had studied folklore in Harold W. Thompson's classes at the State College for Teachers in Albany 1934-35. She had been an assistant for Thompson and she also worked with Louis C. Jones when he was on the staff of State College. As a NYFS member, of course, she had a permanent commitment to the subject.

Invited by Thompson to speak at a folklore meeting in NYC on any topic she liked, she realized that she had a mine of unexplored information at her disposal. Why not treat the armed services as an occupational group? She asked the 40 veterans in her two classes to contribute material each night after the formal teaching program was over, and they responded generously. A talk which she entitled "Folklore of G.I. Joe" was given in January 1947 and a pioneering article followed in the *New York Folklore*

Quarterly (Underwood 1947). She also began a Ph.D. but this was never completed owing to various financial and family responsibilities. However, the material she had collected from her informants and from a network of correspondents was kept intact.

In the winter of 1983-84, while using the Library of Congress Music Division Archive, I contacted Professor Lydia Fish of State University College at Buffalo who told me about the existence of the collection and that it had been donated to the folklore archive at the college. Here I was able to classify and index it during a subsequent visit to the U.S. in 1986.

The main value of the collection lies in its penetration of the beliefs, superstitions, fantasies, humor and idiom of the services personnel of the 1940s. In this it has the advantage of being broadly representative, since the informants came from different services in varied theatres of war and were recalling experiences that they were still close to in time. In cataloging the collection, the writer has tried to follow the basic scheme established by its original compiler. This has now evolved into the following structure.

1. Services songs
2. Poems
3. Prayer
4. Superstitions
5. Returning home
6. Narratives
7. Jokes and sayings
8. Mythical creatures
9. Mythical characters
10. Mythical ships and other objects
11. Slang and idiom
12. Nomenclature (names of planes and ships and insignia on them)
13. Terminology
14. Biographical information
15. Historical and miscellaneous information
16. D.V. Smith and Louis C. Jones correspondence

Each individual item in the collection has been attached to one or more sheets of paper and has been inserted in a file folder with a specific title typed on it. The folders are arranged within each category in alphabetic sequence. Thus the first item in the collection is "The Ballad of Rodger Young" and this is filed under Folio 1: Services Songs. An index card for each item bears a brief description plus whatever information there might be about the source and the date of collection. There are 191 index cards referring to 746 sheets and pamphlets. Where the data consist merely of brief notes written on scraps of paper or small cards, these have been aggregated into compilations under various subject headings. Where pieces of paper carry writing on both sides, a photocopy of one side has been filed as a secondary sheet so that the document can be read more easily.

Most of the categories listed above are self-explanatory, but a few require explanation.

For instance, Category 4 contains a sample of the sort of superstitions that flourished in the wartime armed services. A glance through the entries conveys an idea of their nature. There are compilations of the sort of superstitions current in Air Corps, Army and Navy circles, then the entries continue: Bad Luck to Wear G.I. Wings; Pilot Carries a Rolling Pin to Remind him of his Wife; Christ on a Cross; Christ Over Korea; General Montgomery's Greenstone Charm; Gremlins; Insignia Pinned on a Doll; Killing an Albatross; Lucky Charms; Lucky Coins; The Miracle of Mons; Names of Planes; Nobody Except the Bosun Whistles; Phantom Ships; the Virgin Mary.

Category 3 consists of one entry which is representative of a considerable class of similar items. It is a postcard entitled "The Sailor's Prayer" which is really a humorous recital of all the afflictions of the ordinary rating.

Now I lay me down to sleep,
I pray the Lord my soul to keep.
Grant no other sailor take
My shoes and socks before I wake.
Lord guard me in my slumber
And keep my hammock in its number.
May no clews or lashings break
And let me down before I wake. Etc.

Category 5 is a collection of humorous declarations, written in the appropriate bureaucratic style, about the pending return home of the warrior, a subject that bulks large in the social history of the wars that every Western country has been involved in. Thus:

> To whom it may concern: very soon the undersigned will again be in your midst, dehydrated, demobilised and demoralised, once more a human being with freedom and justice for all. . . . Send no more mail! Lock your daughters in their rooms! Fill up the icebox with beer! Get those civvies out of mothballs! Because! I'm! Heading! Home! Etc.

Categories 8, 9 and 10 are one of the most interesting portions of the collection because they deal with a strange sub-universe of creatures, characters, ships and other mysterious objects that are productions of the collective occupational imagination. The wartime environment was a highly fertile field for gossip, rumor, tall stories and other fictions, and it has also spawned folk phenomena which were largely non-rational and in total contradiction to the logic, calculations and regimentation of services bureaucracy. This is the kingdom of George the Three-legged Wonder (a shit-eating dog who haunted the boot camps); Blivil and Finkle (apparitions sometimes seen by the duty officer on a ship); of Chad, Smoe, MacGillicuddy, Kilroy and Snafu (usually an abstraction meaning "situation normal — all fucked up," but also personified as a character in armed services instructional films; of Norm and of Grandpaw Pettibone. It also has manifestations of the marvelous like the Tuscarora (a mythical ship with ideal living conditions for all including 13 decks, a straw bottom and a rubber smokestack). One wonders to what extent science fiction and comic books may have either eroded or enriched the creation of such fantasies. How many are still extant? Or do they just materialize in times of stress?

Lists of the names given to planes, weapons, vehicles and other military hardware have been compiled under Category 12, while Category 13 contains a few examples of World War 2 acronyms and other kinds of specialized military language.

Finally there is a miscellany of biographical and historical material which includes a number of pamphlets and programs of folklore and historical societies. To this has been appended a file of letters and postcards written from 1943 onwards to Dr. D.V. Smith (before he left to become President of the State Teachers' College at Cortland, N.Y.) by former pupils serving in the armed forces all over the world. This correspondence was maintained by Louis C. Jones (English Department) after he left. They were operating an informal alumni network by receiving these letters and in reply sending out a cyclostyled news sheet in which items about various individual doings were incorporated. For example, the issue of March 31, 1945, contained information about 35 different people. Most of the letters from overseas have been censored at their sources and contain no revelations about the war itself, but it is interesting to see what people wrote about and the attitudes they took towards events. Some regaled the small talk of garrison life in the Pacific or in remote parts of the U.S. Others dealt in freshly glimpsed actualities behind the front lines. One correspondent called "George" writing in April 24, 1945, on some coarse German wartime paper he had taken from a Nazi headquarters, described a visit to Aachen Aix la Chapelle.

> The *Herrenvolk* now live in the cellars of their former homes, maybe still dreaming of *lebensraum*. I wonder what the mother of the two little blonde-haired kids playing see-saw in the rubble heap that had been their home, thought of the slogans still visible on the foundations: *"Alles fur den Sieg"* or what did the refugees pushing a cart of rescued belongings think of *"Vertraue auf den Fuhrer."* Was the son of that old man and his wife pulling a plow in their garden one of the supporters of Hitler? Yes, most ironic of all was a kid of about 14 rubbing mud over a painted *"Heil Hitler!"* Cpl Klautsch, our driver, summed it up in that famous ETO expression: "They've had it" [ETO is an acronym for European Theatre of Operations.]

Pfc. Rolf K. Toepfer, in an infantry regiment, on December 29, 1944 was depressingly prophetic about the policy of unconditional surrender and its consequences.

> . . . it is our only hope that we get home all in one piece, or at all for that matter. Too many of my, and yours too, old friends have not been so fortunate. The more I hear the roll call of men who have already fallen, the more this young soldier wonders whether all this fighting to the bitter end is really worth it. For what? For some idealists' utopian world confederation or what-have-you? No chance for that. This so-called civilisation of ours is made up of humans, and it is these humans who will go on time and again — regardless of all the efforts of dreamers, pacifists, isolationists, *et al.* — disputing, even to the point of war.

Such attempts at historical prediction apart, another attribute of the Underwood collection is its scarcity value. Hardly anyone else was systematically collecting such materials on a broad scale in the 1940s. Looking back, I am now rather ashamed of my own efforts which were fragmentary, amateurish, and subject to disasters like the time in the North Italian campaign that the company truck was shelled by a German Tiger tank. This resulted in the destruction of a guitar and the notebook containing what songs and other items had been written down and stored in the truck for safe-keeping during an attack. The material had to be reconstructed from memory much later on pages torn from a file of transport licensing warrants at a captured Wehrmacht headquarters. (Paper was always hard to come by in the front lines.) The mishap demonstrated the principle that field collectors should make at least two copies of everything and squirrel them away in different places. Easier said than done, however, if you are obliged to hump most of your wordly possessions about on your back along with the astonishing amount of hardware a modern infantry platoon seems to require. Letters home? They are censored and never tell the truth. Besides, it is difficult to write anything but conventional platitudes when your platoon commander is censoriously looking over your shoulder.

Not surprisingly there appear to be very few field notes of much consequence to a folklorist written by ordinary soldiers in any of the 20th century wars. Frontline diaries are inclined to be very cryptic, scrappy and mundane. There are letters home, memoirs, recollections, reconstructions, yes, but documentary reportage on location has many imperfections. Even the notorious efforts of the U.S. news media to report the Vietnam War are silent on many matters because they are dedicated to the production of drama and are essentially the work of visitors and transients.

As for the infantry soldier, his resources as researcher are greatly constrained. He can carry only the barest essentials; he thinks in terms of survival from one attack to the next; the rank and file tend to be drawn from the lowest socio-economic levels of the population and are only semi-literate; there is no privacy, and the diligent note-writer must therefore fit his activities into what scraps of personal time the fortunes of war and the collective demands of his situation might permit. Nor is there likely to be much sense of purpose. Life in an infantry platoon resembles the infantile chaos of a badly run kindergarten where something has no sooner been created than it is destroyed.

Of all the millions of words of *post-bellum* reportage about warfare, remarkably few concern themselves with the humdrum, daily actualities of the social life of the ordinary serviceman. The Underwood material offers some brief glimpses into parts of this sub-universe. It is a kind of snapshot of what was in the minds of survivors in the immediate, post-World-War-2 years. This makes it useful for anyone wanting to do research on this period and it also lends itself to comparative purposes. The article originally published in *The New York Folklore Quarterly* by no means exhausts the material in this collection. It terminated with the wonderful fantasy of Murgatroyd the Kluge-Maker (Underwood 1947) but many other approaches to the military tall tale, the epic, the anecdote and the occupational narrative are possible. The Smith letters extend such possibilities because they contain a variety of narratives from a cross-section of people that could be used for analysis. I hope that other researchers will take up these tasks and that organizing this collection has done something to redeem my own shortcomings as an incompetent observer, once in the thick of what now seems increasingly like some strange movie a fast-diminishing number of us attended long ago.

The bibliography that follows concentrates on published song collections and scholarly articles about military folklore. It should be regarded as a provisional attempt to list the main published sources for working in this field. It incorporates some of the songs that have originated with the wars that have been fought within America, but it is based mainly on the two major world wars and the Korean and Vietnam conflicts. It does not include biography, fiction and diaries that contain incidental material of use in folklore studies. A few commercial recordings of the songs of services people have also been listed, especially those which incorporate versions of songs that were once sung in the field.

SELECT ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adler, Kurt
1942 Songs of Many Wars. New York: Howell, Soskin. 65 items from various countries with words and music, from the 16th-20th centuries.

The Air Force Band and the Singing Sergeants

1979 AF101479, l.p. record. Washington, D.C.: Heritage. 14 tracks including 10 traditional U.S. Air Force songs.

Bowman, Kent A.

1987 Voices of Combat: A Century of Liberty and War Songs 1765-1865. New York: Greenwood Press. Discusses songs of protest in the Revolutionary War, "star-spangled melodies" of the War of 1812, "rough and ready singers" of the Mexican War and the music of the Civil War. With notes, bibliography and a compilation of selected lyrics.

Brand, Oscar

1962 Ballad Mongers. New York: Funk and Wagnalls. Contains brief notes about World War 2 and Korean War songs in a chapter entitled "Singing Servicemen."

c.1956-58 The Wild Blue Yonder. EKL-168, l.p. record. New York: Elektra. 16 U.S. Air Force songs current among pilots.

c.1956-58 Out of the Blue. EKL-178, l.p. record. New York: Elektra. 15 U.S. Air Force songs current among pilots.

c.1956-58 Up in the Air with Oscar Brand. EKL-198. New York: Elektra. 13 U.S. Air Force songs current among pilots.

1972 Songs of '76. New York: M. Evans and Company. Has 63 songs with music and notes. 20 of the songs have a military significance.

Brophy, John, and Eric Partridge

1965 The Long Trail. London: Andre Deutsch. Discusses what the British soldier allegedly sang and said in 1914-18. Contains 58 songs with notes and a glossary of military slang. Bowdlerized, with no music and no index.

Broudy, Saul F.

1969 G.I. Folklore in Vietnam. M.A. thesis, University of Pennsylvania. Briefly discusses military folklore in Vietnam with a list of slang terms. Also reproduces 23 texts from the songbook of the 48th Assault Helicopter Company and 22 songs transcribed from a tape recording of a singing contest held at an aviation unit commanders' conference in Nha Trang, April 1967.

Bureau of Naval Personnel

n.d. Navy Song Book. Washington, D.C.: Department of the Navy. 94 items, mainly popular songs, but includes a few traditional services compositions.

Carey, George G.

1965 A Collection of Airborne Cadence Chants. Journal of American Folklore 78:307,52-61. Research based on Fort Campbell, Kentucky, a 101st Airborne Division training center. Compares cadences to work chants.

Cazden, Norman, Herbert Haufrecht, and Norman Studer

1982 Folksongs of the Catskills. Albany: SUNY Press. Chapter 2, "Songs of War and Battle" has 14 songs with notes and music from Waterloo and the War of 1812 to the Civil War and the Spanish-American War.

Cleveland, Les

1959 The Songs We Sang. Wellington, New Zealand: Editorial Services. Collection of 50 soldiers' songs current in the NZ forces in World War 2. Bowdlerized, but with some music.

1960 The Songs We Sang. LA-3, l.p. record. Wellington: Kiwi Records. 11 items from World War 2.

1961 More Songs We Sang. LA-6, l.p. record. Wellington: Kiwi Records. 11 items.

1975 The Songs We Sang. SLC-121, l.p. record. Wellington: Kiwi Records. 16 items.

1982 The Songs We Sang. TC SLC-121, cassette tape. Wellington: Kiwi Records. 16 items.

1984 When They Send the Last Yank Home: Wartime Images of Popular Culture. Journal of Popular Culture 18:3,31-36. Reproduces several anti-American parodies circulating among NZ troops in World War 2.

1985 Soldiers' Songs: The Folklore of the Powerless. New York Folklore XI,79-97. Advances a theory about the functions of military folksong and especially its significance as protest.

Commission on Training Camp Activities of the Army and Navy Departments

1917 Songs of the Soldiers and Sailors. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 62 popular songs of World War 1 and six hymns.

Cornell, George

1981 G.I. Slang in Vietnam. Journal of American Culture 4:2, 195-200. G.I. slang in Vietnam developed as a specialized terminology and an expression of futility. With glossary.

Cray, Ed

1970 Bawdy Ballads. London: Anthony Blond. Contains 138 items with music, including a section with 13 military songs and accompanying notes.

1970 The Erotic Muse. London: Anthony Blond. A collection of 139 ballads with music and notes, including 14 military items.

Creighton, Helen

1961 Maritime folksongs. Toronto: Ryerson Press. Has a chapter on topical songs that includes eight of traditional naval and military origins.

Dallas, Karl

1972 The Cruel Wars. London: Wolfe Publishing. 100 songs "from Agincourt to Ulster" with melodies and guitar chords.

de Witt, Hugh

1970 Bawdy Barrack-Room Ballads. London: Tandem. 69 songs, many of them well-known in the British Army.

Dolph, Edward Arthur

1929 Sound Off! New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corporation. 325 songs and bugle calls from the American Revolutionary War to World War 1 with music and notes. The most substantial of the U.S. military song collections.

Dundes, Alan

1985 The American Game of "Smear the Queer" and the Homosexual Component of Male Competitive Sport and Warfare. Journal of Psychoanalytic Anthropology 8:3,115-129. Claims there are homosexual underpinnings to warfare and cites some military songs.

Edwards, Ron

1972 Australian Folk songs. Holloway's, Queensland: The Ram's Skull Press. A section of this work that is concerned with the services contains words and melodies of 20 songs.

Egan, Ted

1986 The Anzac Songbook. Richmond, Victoria, Australia: Greenhouse Publications. 14 songs current among Australian services.

Elkin, Frederick

1946 The Soldier's Language. American Journal of Sociology 51:5,414-422. Soldiers' language reflects self-images of solidarity, freedom from social restraint and strength as well as attitudes towards authority.

Ellis, Bill

1980 First Cav: Impressions of a Skytrooper. ASCAP, l.p. record. San Francisco: De Gar Music Publishing Co. Songs about the Vietnam War composed and sung by Ellis.

1985 First Cav. S-0077, stereo l.p. record. San Francisco: De Gar Music Publishing Co. Four songs of the Vietnam War.

Ford, Ira W.

1940 Traditional Music of America. New York: Dutton. Has chapters on oldtime ballads, song verses and parodies and American patriotic songs. This contains seven military songs from the Civil War with music.

1974 The Forget Me Not Songster. Containing a Choice Collection of Old Ballad Songs as Sung by Our Grandmothers. Philadelphia: Norwood Editions. Reprint of the 1835 edition published originally by Nafis and Cornich, New York. 92 texts including 15 military and naval songs from the Revolutionary period and earlier.

Fowke, Edith

1973 The Penguin Book of Canadian Folk Songs. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books. Has six British broadsides and traditional songs from the Napoleonic period.

Ferris, William R., Jr.

1976 The Enlisted Man: Army Folklore. New York Folklore II,229-234. Describes jokes circulating in an administrative headquarters at Fort Bliss, Texas, in 1970.

Gardner, Emelyn Elizabeth, and Geraldine J. Chickering

1967 Ballad Songs of Southern Michigan. Hatboro, Pennsylvania: Folklore Associates. Has a chapter on "War" which contains 18 texts with music and notes ranging from Child ballads to the Napoleonic War, the Crimean campaign, the Alamo and the Civil War.

Getz, C.W.

1981 The Wild Blue Yonder: Songs of the Air Force. Vol I. Burlingame, California: Redwood Press. Extensive detail on sources and variants. Lists 33 unit songbooks and contains texts of 661 songs and many variants. The most comprehensive work published in this field.

1986 The Wild Blue Yonder: Songs of the Air Force. Vol II. Stag Bar Edition. Burlingame, California: Redwood Press. Lists 23 songbooks of military organizations and reproduces 336 texts, about half of which are bawdy. With glossary.

1986 Songs of the Air Force. L.p. record. Burlingame: Redwood Press. 20 items ranging from World War 1 to Vietnam.

Glass, Paul, and Louis C. singer

1964 Singing Soldiers. New York: Grosset and Dunlop. Sub-titled "A History of the Civil War in Song" this collection contains 101 songs with music, including sections devoted to volunteering, conscription, battles, soldiers and life in camp.

Glazer, Tom

1970 Songs of Peace, Freedom and Protest. New York: David McKay. Contains a few traditional military items critical of services life.

Gray, Roland Palmer

1924 Songs and Ballads of the Maine Lumberjacks. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. Re-issued by Singing Tree Book Press, Book Tower, 1969. Has a section on historical ballads and songs which contains 11 texts from the Civil War and earlier.

Grunes, David J.

1941 15 Red Army Songs. New York: Am-Russ Music Corp. Popular wartime songs with musical accompaniments.

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c.1945 Ballads of World War II. Glasgow: the Lili Marleen Club. Collection of British, German and Italian songs current among, or known to, 51st Highland Division soldiers in the British Eighth Army.

The Hard-Boiled Songs of Aviators

1923 The Literary Digest. 8 December,48-51. Texts of nine World War 1 songs current among airmen.

Hart, Harold H.

1971 The Complete Immortalia. New York: Hart Publishing. A collection of riddles, limericks, parodies, bawdy verse and song which includes items that circulated in military environments during World War 1 and 2.

Harwell, Richard Barksdale

1950 Confederate Music. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina. General discussion of Confederacy songs with bibliography and list of sheet music.

Heaps, Willard Allison

1960 The Singing Sixties. Norman: Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press. Sub-titled "The Spirit of the Civil War Day Drawn from the Music of the Times" this provides a chronicle of events illustrated by the songs of the period.

Hopkins, Anthony

1979 Songs from the Front and Rear. Edmonton: Hurtig. 120 songs, with music, current among Canadian servicemen in World War 2. Not bowdlerized.

Hudson, Arthur Palmer

1977 Folk tunes from Mississippi. New York: Da Capo Press. Reprint of 1937 edition by the National Service Bureau (Publication No. 25). Words, music and notes for 35 songs. Includes a version of "The Sailor and the Soldier."

1981 Folksongs of Mississippi and their Background. New York: Folklorica Press. Part III contains 13 texts from the Civil War with notes. These deal more realistically than most collections with grievances, hunger and the soldier's life.

Jackson, Bruce

1967 What Happened to Jody? Journal of American Folklore 80:318,387-396. Texts and music for several versions of "Jody the Grinder" collected in a Texas Prison.

Johnson, Sandee Shaffer

1983 Cadences: The Jody Call Book, No. 1. Canton, Ohio: Daring Press. Compilation of approximately 260 cadence chants with a brief historical introduction concerning their origins in U.S. military tradition.

Jonas, Dick
1985 FSH.LP 156, l.p. record. Mesilla Park, New Mexico: Goldust Records Company. 10 U.S. Air Force songs from Vietnam.
1987 FSH Volume I, cassette. Las Cruces, New Mexico: Goldust Records Company. 10 fighter pilot songs from Vietnam.
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Kenagy, S.G.
1978 Sexual Symbolism in the Language of the Air Force Pilot: A Psychoanalytic Approach to Folk Speech. Western Folklore 37:2,89-101. An analysis of sexually oriented metaphor as displacement of fear and anxiety and as phallic fantasy and aggression.

Leach, MacEdward
1965 Folk Ballads and Songs of the Lower Labrador Coast. Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, Bulletin No. 20, Anthropological Series No. 68. Contains 10 items ranging from Waterloo to World War 1 and 2.

Lingenfelter, Richard E., Richard A. Dwyer, and David Cohen
1968 Songs of the American West. Berkeley: University of California Press. Contains a chapter on "The Regular Army" consisting of 10 items with music from the war with Mexico.

Linton, E.R.
1965 The Dirty Song Book. Los Angles: Melco Books. Texts of 69 obscene ballads and parodies, many of them current in military circles.

Lomax, Alan
1960 The Folk Songs of North America. London: Cassell. Contains 21 military items, with music, in chapters on "Yankee Soldiers and Sailors" and "Soldiers and Renegades." Most are drawn from the Civil War.

Lomax, John Avery, and Alan Lomax
1934 American Ballads and Folk Songs. New York: Macmillan. A chapter on "Wars and Soldiers" has 17 items with music. Four are from World War 1 and the rest are from the Civil War.
1941 Our Singing Country. New York: Macmillan. Has five songs from the Napoleonic period to World War 1 in a section entitled "Soldiers and Sailors."

Lynn, Frank
1961 Songs for Singin'. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company. Has a chapter on "Servicemen's Songs" which contains 21 texts with music, derived from World War 1 and 2.

Manny, Louise, and James Reginald Wilson

1968 Songs of Miramichi. Fredericton, New Brunswick: Brunswick Press. Has a chapter on songs from other areas which includes four traditional items from Waterloo and the Crimea.

McGregor, Craig

c.1972 Bawdy Ballads and Sexy Songs. New York: Tower Books. 51 bawdy songs, many of them current in military circles.

Meyer, Michael

1977 The S.A. Song Literature. Journal of Popular Culture 11:3,568-579. Analysis of the songs popular among the Nazi movement in Germany.

Morris, Alton Chester

1950 Folksongs of Florida. Gainsville: University of Florida Press. A chapter entitled "Songs of War and Other Historical Events" has six items from the Revolutionary War and the Civil War and one from the Spanish-American War.

Navy Department Commission on Training Camp Activities

1919 Marine Corps Songbook. Washington, D.C.: National Committee on Army and Navy Camp Music. 78 popular wartime songs and seven hymns.

Neeser, Robert W.

1938 American Songs and Naval Ballads. New Haven: Yale University Press. Texts of 161 songs from the Revolutionary period to the end of the sailing ship era.

Nettleingham, F.T.

1917 Tommy's Tunes. London: Erskine Macdonald. Words of 93 songs from World War 1.

Niles, John J.

1927 Singing Soldiers. New York: Scribners. A collection of U.S. Army songs from World War 1 concentrating on material collected from Black soldiers as "a kind of folk music, brought up to date and adapted to war situations."

Niles, John J., D.S. Moore, and A.A. Wallgren

1929 Songs My Mother Never Taught Me. New York: Macaulay. Collection of World War 1 soldiers' songs with musical arrangements.

Page, Martin

1973 Kiss Me Goodnight Sergeant Major. London: Hart Davis MacGibbon. 157 songs and rhymes current in World War 2, mostly in the British Army.

1976 For Gawdsake Don't Take Me. London: Hart Davis MacGibbon. 186 songs and rhymes.

Palmer, Roy

1977 The Rambling Soldier. Harmondsworth: Kestrel. 45 songs with music, notes and descriptive details about life in the British Army, 1750-1900.

Paredes, Americo

A Texas-Mexican Cancionero: Folksongs of the Lower Border. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. Part II contains 34 songs of border conflict with notes, photographs and an introduction.

Peat, Frank E., and Lee Orean Smith

1932 Legion Airs. New York: Leo Feist. 103 songs of World War 1 with words and music.

Peters, Harry B.

1977 Folk Songs Out of Wisconsin. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Words and music of 92 songs with illustrations and historical notes. Includes seven items from the War of 1812 and from the Civil War.

Posselt, Eric

1943 Give Out!: Songs Of, By, and For the Men in Service. Florida: Granger Books. 120 songs current in the Allied World War 2 services.

Rabson, Carolyn

1974 Songbook of the American Revolution. Peaks Island, Maine: Neo Press. A collection of topical ballads, hymns and patriotic national airs. Includes 10 items of military interest with music and notes.

Rixey, Lilian

1943 Soldiers Still Sing. Life, September 27,48-54. Lists several songs popular among U.S. troops in World War 2.

Sandburg, Carl

1927 The American Songbag. New York: Harcourt Brace. Has 12 songs from five wars, with music.

Silber, Irwin

1960 Songs of the Civil War. New York: Columbia University Press. With piano and guitar arrangements by Jerry Silverman. 134 texts with music and notes about sources and a supporting bibliography make this one of the best treatments of the Civil War material. Has chapters on the Union, Dixie, Abraham Lincoln and a group of particular compositions inspired by the war. Twelve songs deal with specific battles and fights and another 12 consist of Negro spirituals, Abolitionist songs and other types of song circulating among Black soldiers. Another 25 songs are said to be "songs the soldiers sang" and 14 in a chapter entitled "Grafter Into the Army" consist of comic, dialect and minstrel songs from the period. The bibliography contains a list of 62 songsters of the Civil War and mid-19th century period.

Silverman, Jerry

1982 The Dirty Songbook. New York: Stein and Day. A collection of 110 obscene songs with music, including many well-known in the armed services.

Small, Allan

1947 Soviet Popular Songs. New York: Leeds Music Corporation. Collection of popular contemporary Soviet songs with music.

Smith, Franklin D.

n.d. Songs With Hash Marks, l.p. record. Phoenix, Arizona: Council on Abandoned Military Posts. 16 traditional military songs with guitar accompaniment.

Staton, Henry

1926 Old Southern Songs of the Period of the Confederacy. London: Samuel French. A collection of ballads and troops' songs with brief notes.

Tommy's Songs

1917 The Literary Digest. December 1,36. Review of Tommy's Tunes. (See Nettleingham 1917, above.)

Trident Society

1942 The Book of Navy Songs. U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis. New York: Doubleday. Reprint of 1926 edition with extra material. Contains 108 historical songs and ballads, wardroom and fo'c's'le songs, shanties, songs of landing parties and Naval Academy songs, with music.

Tuso, Joseph F.

1971 Folksongs of the American Fighter Pilot in Southeast Asia, 1967-68. Folklore Forum, No. 7. Bloomington, Indiana: Folklore Forum Society. 33 pilots' songs from Vietnam with glossary and an introduction that describes the social life at an Air Force base.

Underwood, Agnes Nolan

1947 Folklore from G.I. Joe. New York Folklore Quarterly III:4,286-297. Discusses Kilroy, Smoe, Clem, services' slang, slogans, superstitions, names of aircraft and services' songs.

Ye A.E.F. Hymnal

c.1918 Nancy: Berger-Levrault. Collection of 17 "Doughboy" lyrics that smoothed the way from Hoboken to the Rhine.

York, Dorothea

1931 Mud and Stars. New York: Henry Holt. Texts of 309 songs and poems from World War 1.

Wallrich, William

1954 United States Air force Parodies Based Upon "The Dying Hobo." Western Folklore 13:4. Discusses connections between "The Dying Hobo" and a sequence of military variants.

1957 Air Force Airs. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. Collection of songs current in the U.S. Air force from World War 1 to the Korean War.

Ward-Jackson, C.H.

1945 Airman's Song Book. London: Blackwood. Anthology of songs "mainly of the Royal Air Force, its auxiliaries and its predecessors, the Royal Flying Corps and the Royal Naval Air Service." Contains 144 songs with 55 melodies and a glossary of technical terms.

Warner, Anne

1984 Traditional American Folk Songs. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press. 495 items from the Anne and Frank Warner collection including 19 Revolutionary and Civil War songs with music.

Winstock, Lewis

1970 Songs and Music of the Redcoats. London: Leo Cooper. "A history of the war music of the British Army 1642-1902." Contains 56 musical arrangements, and cites many other songs.

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Folklore Notes

Rough Measure in Maritime Dialect Research

LEWIS J. POTEET and JACQUELINE BAUM

Telemetry of spacecraft data and the home computer are highly visible contemporary reminders of the dramatic change in the human ability to measure and name quantities. In North America, metric and non-metric measure compete. But before the new technologies, people turned more often to the tools of language than to the slide rule or adding machine, when they came to do the job of measuring. Two recent collections of words and phrases from the South Shore of Nova Scotia reveal that the folk speech of that line of villages along the Atlantic between Halifax and Yarmouth is rich in terms of "rough measure" (Poteet 1983, 1985). These terms — a "dab," a "lounder," a "snapper," a "jag," and so forth — provided a way to know how much of anything was meant, before the computer cash register and milli-microns, a way which worked perfectly for people who could combine the word or phrase with appropriate experience.

The plenitude of such words and the pattern of their use, not only in Nova Scotia but also in Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, the Eastern Townships of Quebec and Maine, suggest certain powers of language and ways of studying them. When we come to measure complex things, sometimes a degree of imprecision or rough measure may be helpful. Moreover, non-arithmetical experiential measures make easier the metaphorical extension of meaning which is characteristic of this rural and coastal speech. They in fact may suggest capabilities of the non-urban mind and culture which have been overlooked. In a sort of rough measure in research, we need to see the flexible speech communities within a group of people who understand each other and routinely seek to share their skills in communication with neighboring speech commons and strangers. In a way that owes something to the ethnography of speaking done by Abrahams (1981, 1985), Bauman (1972), and Hymes (1984), we may be able through this analysis to do comparative work between fairly large areas (like the Maritime and eastern continental regions of North America). It may also suggest the size, shape, variety, and flexibility of the many small speech communities within places as small as a fishing village.

We are most familiar with this kind of measure in the kitchen, where a "smidgeon," a "dab," and the injunction to "chop it fine" are familiar everywhere. But rural and Maritime speech are extraordinarily rich in such words, in many kinds of activities. In Nova Scotia, the Eastern Townships of Quebec, and Maine a "jag" is "a load of wood stacked onto a truck or trailer until one more piece would fall off." An explanation from Maine has it that "since a cord of firewood is a precise quantity (128 cubic feet) about which seller and buyer might dispute, Maine farmers took to selling wood by the load. There was now a set price for whatever the wagon would hold" (Gould 1975). The OED traces the origin of the word to 1597, and finds it in use in Cheshire and East Anglia long before Maine farmers were selling firewood, but the story points up the usefulness of the term as a species of rough measure. A related term from Nova Scotia is "buying and selling cord," with the explanation, "It's bigger when you buy it and smaller when you sell!" and another is a "run" of wood, a cord cut to approximate stove lengths rather than the full four feet long. In the Townships, a "Frenchman's acre" is said among some Anglophones to have the same characteristic flexibility as the "buying and selling of cord."

A "lounder," on Cape Sable Island, is a "generous quantity of anything," from snow by the handfuls thrown onto a windshield to help clear it, to liquor. A "jar" of liquor is "a good big supply," at least a 40-ouncer. In Prince Edward Island, a "shinny" of heat is the amount of heat found close to the stove or fire; a small degree of heat, with the example "Just put a shin of heat on" (Pratt, 1984). There, too, a "skiff" is a "light, even fall of snow or rain," a "skillick," "a small, almost worthless amount of something," and a "snapper," a "mouthfull of liquor, a drink taken in one draft," or "whatever you can get out of the bottle in one try." These words come into women's work outside the kitchen, too; to "gabalash," in quilting circles along the South Shore, is to make the crude, rough, large stiches used to lash the quilt into the frame for the fine stitching by the women and girls sitting around it. When it is used to suggest that someone's quilting stitch is too large — "You're just gabalashing it, slow down and take your time!" — it comes into focus as a term of rough measure.

These terms come so naturally to [illegible] this culture that we may find them in 'tomorrow next day," a L[illegible], N.S. way to say "the indefinite future," in words to respond to 'how are you" like "more than somewhat," and in an intriguing Yarmouth N.S. response to "how much?" — "About what you think!"

Sometimes a term seems to have originated in a specific nautical or commercial context which gave it a precise, arithmetical denotation, but is then appropriated, its edges hewn off, for rough measure. In Maine, a "picul" is said to have been from trading "out East . . . for manifesting cargoes of pepper," and was a measure of about one and a third hundred weight. It has come to mean "an indefinite amount, although quite a good bit." "Offing" was and is "a point some distance from the shore but within sight of it. . . . To have a good offing is to be well clear of the land with plenty of room to navigate" (Gould 1975). In the metaphorical extension of a parallel nautical term, "hailing distance," the term acquires a certain greater latitude. Sometimes the term comes from the name of the container: a "piggin" was named for a pail, but came to be identified with a smaller dipper or ladle as a term of rough measure. A "firkin," from Middle Dutch *veerdel*, a fourth, is said by the OED to have varied in capacity over the years since its first use in print in 1423, according to the commodity — eight gallons of ale, nine of beer, ten and a half of salmon or eels.

This flexibility is a key to the diversity and plenitude of these terms. We may put beside the PEI "skiff" of snow two terms from Maine, "robin snow" ("a light fall of perhaps an inch or two coming in late spring as an afterthought of winter") and "flirt o' snow" ("a light flurry, not enough to 'make any,' not so much as a robin snow") and see how useful such words are in a northern climate. When we come to measure complex things in human contexts, sometimes a measure of imprecision is helpful. Accuracy, usually a matter of precision, must be keyed to purpose or use. Rough measure terms do this. For example, a "lounder" is a variable lot of snow or rum, and the word calls attention not so much to the exact amount as to the urgency of the need for some.

This readiness to take a term and apply it widely to comparable experience, this rush to metaphor, is highly characteristic of Maritime speech. In Shelburne County, N.S., "getting down to the fine shims" is more often used to describe the last stages of a process of bargaining than the original context of machinery repair. "Getting down to the fine strokes" is useful in many activities beyond chopping or whittling. An elaborate example whose origins are now obscure is "under ash sail:" "If the crew of a becalmed sailing vessel breaks out the sweeps and begins to row, the effort is called 'making an ash breeze,' as ash was the favored wood for oars; hence any make-do contrivance can be an 'ash breeze' " and any extraordinary effort to get something difficult done may be called "making an ash breeze (or moving) under ash sail" (Gould 1975). The advice to "fish or cut bait" not only divides many villages into the major forms of employment but also and more commonly means, "don't do two things at once." "I'll have to hand that one alongside awhile before I heist her aboard," from fishing, has in Barrington, N.S. become a proverbial way to express doubt about the value of a new idea. A "jillpoke" was two different things in the logging operations in the woods in the old days, one of them "a log with one end lodged in the bank or bottom of a stream," a "Jesus obstruction" and a danger; thus in Maine "it is also extended metaphorically to mean 'an awkward person likely to do something foolish or start trouble" (Gould 1975). And if the neighbor from Pubnico, N.S. on being asked how his wife is this morning says "she's a twenty-nine," think of the barometer and wait another day to ask her to bake pies for the supper; that is a low reading on the glass, and her face probably looks the way the sky did last week just before "it blew a livin' gale!"

What implications may we draw from the use of these terms, particularly in their adaptability to metaphorical use? The most concrete of the studies of metaphor, citing Burke, argues:

> Whatever the goals of the rhetorician, his tropes must persuade persons of the *truth* of his position. Most often . . . this truth is not presented as a known fact, but through a semantic movement or transformation of meaning, as a "revelation" or new comprehension about the nature of things. No additional, previously unknown elements are added to the listener's knowledge of the empirical characteristics of things; rather, he is led to see their nature through their relationship (Crocker 1977).

The common experience of the speaker and listener is here the key to the metaphorical process. Even proverbs which are commonly known must share "a sense of aptness, of timing and *gestalt* perception of context, which is just as creative as the coining of a new phrase" (Crocker 1977). Terms of rough measure, even before metaphorical transformation, depend on experiential verification of quantity, or, as one Barrington resident puts it, "Ya haf t'be in the boat before ya know how to roll in the waves." To know in Argyle that a "lump" of butter is the size of a walnut or egg, one must have been shown by aunt or mother or grandmother during cooking; in Maine, the same tests apply to the quantification of "gobbet," which, from its meaning in Rabelais' *Gargantua* ("a chunk of meat") has been specified as "the size of a duck's egg." It is tempting to speculate that the number of such terms here has its roots in the system of measurement, in which there were verifiable tests, on the human body, for the length of a "foot," an "inch," a "yard," a "stone," a "span," and so forth. Perhaps Old English is richer in these terms than modern urban English. But the key is in the common experience of speaker and hearer. In this process, a boy learns, for example, that one man's "snapper" is another man's "staving drunk," a state that has been defined as "intoxication to the degree that the person is so thirsty for more that he'll stave in the barrel rather than pulling the bung."

But the use of rough measure, depending on experiential verification, facilitates the metaphorical extension of meaning which is so characteristic of this speech. It was the founder of folklore, Edward B. Tylor (1879) who first argued that "metaphors taken from sports may . . . outlast their first sense," citing both the etymology of "chicanery" from a game of stickball called *chugan* in Persian and the commonly known "Don't *bandy* words with me," from an early name of hockey. But in Maritime speech, from what we have observed, the experiential connection is more obvious and the habit more widespread. The most elaborate example, a "jag," from its meaning in describing a load of wood, came to mean in the Townships of Quebec "any big effort," and also, more generally, "a gentleman so fully loaded with spirits that he couldn't hold any more" is said to be on a "jag." But as a jag is both a lot of something but also less than a full measure of it (less than the 4 feet by 4 feet by 8 feet pile of a full cord), the Dictionary of American Slang defines a drinking jag as "an earlier stage of intoxication," closer to "having a flash on" or "flashed up."

And the experiential component so necessary to the existence and spread of these terms has specific implications for the isolation, identification, and characterization of speech communities.[1] Abrahams (1981:69) has noted that "by altering the focus of folkloristics from the study of texts in transmission to the analysis of 'artistic communications in small groups,' we have rearranged our primary concern from the lore to the folk." And Bauman's work, some of it on South Shore materials, traces the interplay of the personal and the social in language, studying the question of the personal "ownership" of stories which are nonetheless available and useful in the speech community. He identifies occasions of talk as a key to establishing in the "typology of folk esthetic organizing principles" an "esthetic of speech situations" (Bauman 1972). In his work on "The La Have Island General Store," one section analyzes the talk at the store as "an exclusively male activity, although both sexes recognized it as the premier speech situation of the community" (Bauman 1972). Now in analyzing the *South Shore Phrase Book* materials, we may distinguish male from female items: "gabalashing" and "twatching," for example, both rough measure terms, are clearly from quilting circle speech situations, mainly older women talking. In Bauman's island community, the women knew about the talk at the store, and knew a lot about it — it's all competitive, according to them — "one just tryin' to beat the other" (Bauman 1972). In the *South Shore Phrase Book* research, the quilting club at Blanche is a main source of women's phrases, and the informants say little is excluded from the topics of discussion, though "men's words" are.

Dell Hymes has argued the value of analyzing, not just the visible, countable evidence of shared usage from a culture, but the degree of shared knowledge and understanding across the lines of division between speech communities. The situation is complex, as Hymes shows:

> It does seem clear that more than one type of unit must be taken into account. So far as language is the means of communication, the most general requirement for the presence of a communicative unit may be expressed as the sharing of rules for the interpretation of speech. . . . I would tentatively define a speech community in terms of shared knowledge of rules for the interpretation of speech, including rules for the interpretation of at least one common code. . . . Common rules of use, but not of code would imply a speech area. . . . Common rules of code, but not of use, might be taken to imply one aspect of

> speech field, that range of settings in which one's knowledge of rules makes communication potentially possible (Hymes 1984:19).

The discovery of the terms of rough measure, together with the potential for analysis offers another way to explore these structures of performance. For the relative openness of a speech community is a key to the flow of language items (and conversely the flow of items a key to the openness) as well as stories, through it. What Abrahams (1985) says about stories is true too about colorful and useful speech in smaller scale: "We use them to testify to our having played a part in the ongoing drama which we call 'life,' having experiences which are sufficiently typical that we use them to establish both our humanity and to *make a bid* for group membership — even when the group is as evanescent as a queue or other chance encounter situation under strange conditions" (Abrahams 1985:42).

While knowledge of items within a particular speech community — say, a male or female one — is likely shared but many terms not used in both, there is a relatively large degree of openness to the stranger. It is sometimes for entertainment: the greenhorn or outsider often sparks a tall tale or a lively phrase — "Don't eat too much fish, now," says the man filleting the haddock — "makes you horny."[2] It may be for advice: see "hoop your lobster" in the *Second South Shore Phrase Book*. When a long-time resident asks a visitor "When did you get *home*?," knowing full well that he's "from away," he welcomes the stranger into his own rough measure of comfortability, and that of his community.[3]

We may see in this sort of "rough measure" the need to be inclusive in our methods, not exclusive, to keep up with the massive and complex flows and currents in language.[4]

NOTES

1. "The filer's two inches," a term of rough measure from Maine, came from woods work after the chain saw appeared. Its subsequent metaphorical use points out how quickly such use is aided by the term of rough measure (Gould 1975).
2. Edith Fowke (1976) quotes Herbert Halpert describing a typical rural situation where local talk is shared with an outsider: "These stories would never be told directly to the greenhorn, but would be told in his presence, and very often verified by one or more bystanders, and sometimes enlarged upon by a suggestion from a friend. . . . They would tell it as a matter of course — just part of the daily conversation."
3. Terry Pratt (1985) quotes from the forthcoming *Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English* several not quite synonymous examples of the use of "away" which reveal that it is itself a term of rough measure: "The outer limit of *away* is not always fixed at the world, but may be, in minority usage, North America or the rest of Canada only. People from Ontario are especially said to be *from away*."
4. In the first volume of the *Dictionary of American Regional English* (1985) the entry for "cord" defines and illustrates it as a term of rough measure. This dictionary seems to offer a valuable starting-point for the comparative research we have suggested. Perhaps all cultures have terms of rough measure, but are they equally plentiful in all? Are they disappearing? Are new ones being made and used?

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Reviews

Books

The District of Columbia Fire Fighters' Project: A Case Study in Occupational Folklife. Robert McCarl. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985. (241 pp. illus., glossary, notes, selected bibliography.)

By Land and By Sea: Studies in the Folklore of Work and Leisure. Edited by Roger D. Abrahams, Kenneth S. Goldstein, Wayland D. Hand with the assistance of Maggie Craig. Hatboro, PA: Legacy Books, 1985. (ix + 225 pp.) $19.95, paper.

McCarl's monograph is an outcrop of the 1976 "Working Americans" part of the Smithsonian Folklife Festival. It explores the occupational culture of the members of a fire-fighting organization, using concepts developed out of his direct experience of life in the fire house and on the job. This is an important book which follows up his earlier theoretical observations about work procedures and techniques as the basis for other forms of expressive interaction among members of the workforce. It demonstrates the research technique of working "from the inside out" using the expressive material of the members of the culture under study. There are sections on fire-house life, work techniques, occupational vocabulary and verbal expression which contain many examples of the workforce telling its own story in its own unvarnished, idiomatic and always forceful narrative style.

McCarl defines occupational folklife as "the techniques, gestures, oral expressions of a particular work group" and the first part of the book is an account of just what the fire fighters, in their own words, consider these essential techniques to be. This approach is based on the insight that "the core of any occupational culture lies in the work techniques needed to succeed on the job." This, of course, is an elementary truism well known to any possessor of working class skills and implicit in such time-honored slogans as "getting the tally," "proving yourself" and the like.

The author emphasizes the centrality of work skills because of what he considers to have been a historical tendency in folklore studies to overconcentrate on verbal expression and narrative. This leads him to take particular account of training routines, informal fire-house life, and custom in the workplace, as well as work techniques. This suggests a number of ways that other occupational groups might be studied, though the methodology is demanding since it requires a near-total immersion in the subject matter before the participant can gain the necessary rapport to be able to respond sensitively enough to the non-verbal signals, gestures and other intimations that convey the criteria of good performance.

There are a few comparisons with fishermen and the life of the sea, but McCarl does not seem to spot the parallels with the police and the armed forces even though similarities abound — the same lack of communication and general understanding between them and the public; the same hierarchical structure of authority (with battalion fire chiefs, captains, lieutenants and sergeants); similar strains among families; the need for training and discipline; similar environmental hazards and dependency on work skills and each other for survival.

One of the book's conclusions is that the fire service is basically a closed system revolving round fire-house life, performance on the fire ground and formal fire-fighting education, but there are racial and gender conflicts in its ranks and unresolved tensions that call for a stronger sense of team integration. Here the experience of the military would suggest that the only way to sustain a dedicated commitment to the performance of duties on the part of whole units is to place more emphasis on their cultivation of a sense of organizational mission while trying to maintain as much of their communal living arrangements as possible. However, this option may be denied the fire service. McCarl records that the collective use of the fire-station kitchen is in decline and that ethnic conflicts and difficulties over gender relationships are causing tensions that might ultimately affect the cohesion of the occupation and its performance on the fire-fighting ground.

By the exacting work-performance criterion of McCarl, Abrahams' *By Land and By Sea* is a more varied, and in parts, less substantial venture. Intended as a tribute to Horace P. Beck (whose recently published *Folklore and the Sea* draws upon a lifetime's experience of ships and the sea) it is a collection of contributions that range broadly through topics like Afro-American worksongs, stone carving, football, mining technology, mythology and cowboy cooking, as well as a number of articles that feature the general theme of the sea and pursuits associated with it.

The ones that come nearest to a substantive treatment of "the work techniques needed to succeed on the job" are "Tugboating on Cape Fear River" by Robert H. Byington; "Crafting the Model: Maine Lobster Boat Building as a Design Tradition" by Richard Lunt; "Methods of Catching Marine Eels in the Gilbert Islands (Kiribati)" by Katherine Luamala; a carefully researched account of the technology of drilling by hand for mining purposes ("Singlejack/Doublejack: Craft and Celebration: by Archie Green) and as a concluding *pièce de résistance,* a zestful treatment of traditional cooking methods on the open rangeland, 'The Galloping Gourmet, or the Chuck Wagon Cook and his Craft" by John O. West.

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Gift Drawing and Gift Song[:] A Study of Two Forms of Shaker Inspiration. Daniel Watkins Patterson. Sabbathday Lake, Maine: The United Society of Shakers, 1983. Bibliography, "A Checklist of the Known Shaker Gift Drawings and Paintings, With Biographies of the Identified Artists," "Checklist of Additional Manuscripts Cited," xiii + 112 pp., illustrations (32 b/w, 6 color plates), index.

Daniel Patterson's major opus to date, *The Shaker Spiritual* (1979), is generally acknowledged to be the premier statement on Shaker song, and perhaps on Shaker culture broadly. *Gift Drawing and Gift Song* is less ambitious than that previous work — he calls it an "essay" and a "monograph" — yet the typically thorough scholarship invested in it makes it the soundest, most objective work on Shaker gift drawings to date.

Prior to this work, the major text on the Shaker drawings (executed between 1841 and 1859) was Andrews' *Visions of the Heavenly Sphere* which evinces the devotion to historical detail and scholarly research typical of the work of Edward Deming Andrews. Unfortunately, it also evinces the typical stance that Andrews was largely instrumental in establishing in Shaker Studies, that Shaker artistic creations derive uniquely from Shaker religious tradition. Although such an inference is indisputably a logical — and in many respects a true — one, it likewise propagates the erroneous assumption that Shaker art, material culture, and culture in general can be understood *only* in terms of, as a product of, Shaker religious culture. This assumption has been the guiding star of most popular Shaker writers who thereby impart to a substantial audience the mistaken perception of shakers as uniformly similar members participating in a completely unique and isolated sociocultural system within the midst of America. Generally, art historians, who comprise one academic group that has written widely on the Shakers, mostly in articles and catalogs, have also presented the view of Shaker art as a product of its insular religious culture, implicitly rejecting as secondary or peripheral any other contributing influence from any other cultural source, such as, e.g., the members' pre-Shaker cultural backgrounds.

Patterson's approach to this subject is refreshingly reasonable. He places the drawings within several appropriate contexts: Shaker religious culture of the period in which they were produced; Shaker artistic culture; Shaker village traditions; Anglo-American decorative arts traditions; regional folk arts traditions; and the family traditions of the various artists. In the introductory essay Patterson's major objective is to understand why Shaker graphic art pieces, relative to Shaker musical creations, were rarely mentioned in Shaker documents, why so few have survived, and why they were so rarely devised. He derives an understanding by placing the Shakers — who primarily were Anglo-Americans — into their appropriate traditional context, which reveals that, for various reasons, Anglo-American culture has placed less emphasis on graphic artistry and more on verbal and musical artistry. He notes that this is distinctly true of Anglo-American religious traditions. Therefore, it is not surprising that the gift songs, which numbered nearly four thousand within the period that the graphic art was produced and are still intimately intertwined into Shaker religious life today, were more plentiful and more effective as didactic religious artifacts than the religious graphic art (which Patterson suggests numbered 1316 — his "hypothetical maximum" — although only about 190 are extant today).

I would like to offer some further comparison between Patterson's work and that of Edward Deming Andrews', *Visions of the Heavenly Sphere: A Study in Shaker Religious Art* (Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 1969). Although other publications have appeared dealing with Shaker gift drawings — most notably by Harold Dodd, David Sellin, June Sprigg, and Ruth Wolfe — all are either articles or catalogs for art exhibitions and do not approach the comprehensiveness of Andrews' work. Andrews' should be seen as a supplementary text to Patterson's, even though Patterson's work is shorter. Where Andrews is historically and art historically thorough, Patterson is contextually, objectivelly, and logically sounder. Patterson also corrects some errors in Andrews — without necessarily citing them — such as the Shaker artists' reliance on traditional Shaker color symbolism as well as some errant attributions.

Patterson's work has several other valuable points. A major contribution is his inclusion of checklists of known Shaker gift drawings and artists. In "A Checklist of the Known Shaker Gift Drawings and Paintings, With Biographies of the Identified Artists," Patterson makes a painstaking effort to provide the fullest biographies that research would reveal. He incorporates data such as family artistic background — possible gravestone carvers in the artists' families; quilting, penmanship, and needlework experience; exposure to popular traditions, such as valentine hearts and tinware design; and other elements within the artists' cultural milieux. He also identifies schools of artistic traditions within villages; refines the terminology, noting that the art pieces were construed as "gifts" ("gift drawings") and not as products of spirits ("spirit drawings"); lists 79 more known drawings than the previous list in Andrews (1969); corrects some previously faulty attributions; and reproduces some art never published before. The book may have been improved had he noted more consistently in the checklist entries themselves where his attributions differ significantly from other commentators; often he would note a difference only in the biography of the artist to whom he attributed the work, which would not be helpful to those looking under the listing or biography of the falsely-attributed artist. Also, he perhaps should have given publishing preference to the illustrations not only of works never published before, but also to works that have never even been listed before. He reproduces many works in this book that can be found in other books or catalogs.

But those are minor faults. This is an excellent work. Patterson has shown, through this and his other work, that the Shakers and their culture can be a fruitful area of research for folklorists. Indeed, he has shown that a folklorist can produce the best work on the Shakers.

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Italian Folktales in America: The Verbal Art of an Immigrant Woman. Elizabeth Mathias and Richard Raspa (Foreword by Roger Abrahams). Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1985. (xxi + 322 pp., 31 b/w photographs, map, notes, annotations to the tales, bibliography, index of motifs, index of tale types) $27.00 cloth

This volume inaugurates the Wayne State University Folklore Archive Study Series. Mathias and Raspa took as their departure point a collection of twenty-two märchen and legends which had been languishing in these archives since 1941, stories which had been recorded by hand and then rendered in a standard written English — the apparent epitome of the static folklore "text" — and after field and library research on both sides of the ocean they deliver a remarkable document of individual and social life. The story-teller, Clementina Todesco, was born in 1903 in Faller, a small mountain village in the Veneto Region of northern Italy. In 1930 she emigrated to the United States with her husband and their daughter Bruna (who was later to record the stories). Before she died in 1982 the authors visited her and her husband in Phoenix, Arizona, and interviewed her at length on her life and views on life. They also traveled to Faller and during a number of visits interviewed present-day Fallerese.

The text of Clementina's tales as Bruna Todesco recorded them occupies 163 pages in the exact center of the book, while Mathias' and Raspa's research builds up a vivid and intricate setting in the pages that precede and succeed this flat-cut gem. They discuss their theoretical approach to these tales and the circumstances of the tales' performance, stating among other things, "Our intention in writing this book is to contribute to the growing body of literature on the history and ethnography of work and its relationship to play and other artistic forms" (p.6). After providing some good geographical and historical information relating to Faller, they then address Clementina, her family and conditions of life in the village, and follow her immigration to America which led finally to their meeting with her many years later when "she no longer remembered the stories she told to her daughter, perhaps because the people who needed to hear them were no longer there" (p.59). The thesis is that, with the move from the tightly-knit peasant community of Faller to city life in America, Clementina's repertoire as a story-teller gradually shifted to one made up purely of *narratives of personal experience*. A fifty-page section of such narratives, derived from the authors' interviews with her, follows the 22 traditional tales.

The authors document the *stable* as the winter setting for storytelling in Fallerese life before the Second World War, and also stress this setting for its metaphorical value. I find provocative and useful their concept of the stable as "a free zone" between domestic and public spheres of action and knowledge: "A free zone, the stable functioned to mediate the intimate gestures of home life with the formal rituals of public interaction" (p.39). Although the message of the formal structure of this book suggests that the performance of the traditional tale was most at home in the pre-war village stable, while the personal experience narrative is most functional in the dispersed, industrialized society to which Clementina and her family adapted in the U.S., the rich data which Mathias and Raspa present here lead me to conclude that personal experience and other "true" narratives must have occupied a predominant space in the stables whenever adults or especially men were an important part of the audience. The personal experience narrative told by a storyteller who is a traveler and/or avid reader of books and newspapers (as both the important storytellers in Clementina's life were) is itself a mediator — between the small social and cultural base and a wider one.

This book, which opens outward so surprisingly from its core document, becomes both a record of evocative ethnographic and historical detail specific to mountain peasant culture of northern Italy, and a clear demonstration of how oral narrative functions as a mediator in the experience of social change, whether gradual or radical. On both counts it merits a wide audience.

Moyra Byrne-Severino
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[*Italian Folktales in America* was awarded the 1987 Ben Botkin prize by the American Folklore Society. — Ed.]

Fieldwork. Bruce Jackson. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987. (xiii + 311 pp., bibliography) $37.95, cloth; $13.95, paper.

When Bruce Jackson published *Teaching Folklore* in 1984 I suggested that the teaching members of the American Folklore Society get together and strike a medal for him in recognition of his invaluable service to the most often overlooked branch of the discipline. With the publication of *Fieldwork* I am making the suggestion again — perhaps this time we should make it a gold medal. At last I have a book to recommend to the student who asks, "Can I use video equipment indoors?" "How do I find someone to inverview?" or "What kind of microphone should I use?" This is the first folklore fieldwork manual which deals with documenting events rather than merely conducting interviews. My first action upon finishing reading this book was to call the college bookstore and add *Fieldwork* to my textbook order for next semester.

However, the value of this book is not limited to the classroom. Like all of Bruce Jackson's books, *Fieldwork* is beautifully written — it can be read with profit by an absolute beginner or by an experienced fieldworker who is interested in picking up some new technical information. It includes excellent discussions of planning fieldwork, getting started, establishing rapport, and conducting an interview. These are presented clearly and concisely and illustrated with excellent descriptions of incidents from fieldwork done by Bruce Jackson and Diane Christian, who has worked with him on several of his major projects. These often amusing anecdotes are some of the most valuable parts of the book, since they provide concrete examples of real-life situations which did or didn't turn out well.

The section on "mechanical matters" deals with recording sound, still photography, film and video. Jackson maintains a fine balance between the discussion of the principals and the technical details of documentation and as a result these chapters will be equally helpful to the novice who wants to know what kind of tape to buy and to old hands who have used the equipment for years. (I finally discovered why I occasionally have trouble with my shotgun microphone.)

The section on ethics is superb — based on common sense and good manners rather than the usual abstract considerations. Jackson is acutely conscious of the changing conditions under which folklorists are doing fieldwork — his discussion of the need for releases in this context is particularly excellent. The concluding essay on "Truth and Voice" should be required reading for anyone who writes about folklore. Of all the people publishing in the field today, only Sandy Ives can compete with Jackson in the sheer humanity of his approach to his material. The caring and respect for his informants which comes through so clearly in Jackson's earlier books and films is also evident in *Fieldwork*. They raise it from the level of a manual to a major consideration of the reasons why we engage in fieldwork and the responsibilities that we incur when we do.

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NEW YORK FOLKLORE
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Correspondence and Commentary

More on Red Jacket's Reply

Harry Robie's article on "Red Jacket's Reply" in *New York Folklore* (XII, 3-4, 1986) makes some very important points about the authenticity of the text. Because the Reply is such a well known and often reprinted text, I think that the readers of *New York Folklore* would be interested in the following additional information about the early transmission of the Reply.

The Red Jacket Reply, along with an accompanying speech by Farmer's Brother, was first printed in the *Monthly Anthology* at Boston, Massachusetts, in the issues of March and April 1809. This appearance is accompanied by a letter for transmittal dated Canandaigua, February 4, 1809. Unfortunately, the identity of the person who sent these speeches to the *Anthology* is not revealed. The two speeches did not appear in James D. Bemis' *Ontario Repository* until November 7, 1809. Bemis also printed Red Jacket and Farmer's Brother speeches as a pamphlet titled *Indian Speeches* in 1809, presumably after their appearance in the *Ontario Repository*. The two speeches were reprinted in the *American Register* at Philadelphia in 1810 and in a collection of *Speeches Delivered by Several Indian Chiefs* published by Samuel Wood in New York City the same year. Wood specifically acknowledges Bemis' *Indian Speeches* as his source.

The publishing history is confused by the existence of at least two versions of the Red Jacket Reply published in broadside format by Nathaniel Coventry in Boston. Because the broadsides do not bear a date of publication, they have been misdated as published in 1805, the date of the Reply. Copies of these broadsides at the American Antiquarian Society in Worchester, Massachusetts, are known to have been printed between 1810 and 1814.

Although this is only speculation on my part, it seems significant that the first known printing of the Red Jacket reply was published in Boston, the home base of the Massachusetts Missionary Society, the group that sent the missionary foiled by Red Jacket's oratory. The account of the meeting at Buffalo Creek included with the Red Jacket speech portrays the missionary as being ignorant of Indian custom. This depiction is interesting as the Rev. Jacob Cram had made several tours among the Indians of western New York on behalf of the Massachusetts Missionary Society and Cram's own journal of his tour in 1805 was published in the *Massachusetts Missionary Magazine* in 1806. There is a minor discrepancy in the date ascribed to the speech. Although Cram arrived in western New York in August of 1805, and the published versions of the Red Jacket "Reply" state that it was delivered in the summer of 1805, the account of Cram's "interview" with the Indians at Buffalo Creek contained in his journal is dated November 12, 1805. Cram's version of the meeting is rather laconic.

> Nov. 12, [1805] Tuesday. Had an interview with a number of the Chiefs and others of the Buffaloe Indians. I had learnt some things of their objections to receiving missionaries, and wished to know if they were disposed to go into a discussion of the subject. Instead of complying with my request, they embraced the opportunity of stating their usual objections, and seemed not disposed to go into any inquiry, which is useful.

All of the printed versions referred to above derive from the same source, presumably a "gentleman from Canandaigua." All include the same text and prefatory material. All conform to the basic text identified by Robie, that used in *Native Eloquence* in 1811.

Robie has identified an important addition to the text, a paragraph where Red Jacket suggests that the missionaries are interested in collecting money from the Indians. Robie has identified Samuel G. Drake as the possible source of this paragraph, not found in the Bemis text and considered doubtful by William L. Stone. This version of the Reply is included in books by Drake and B.B. Thatcher published in 1832. While it is possible that Drake was the source of this alteration, my own working hypothesis is that the version used by both Drake and Thatcher in 1832 derives from an as yet unidentified variant. By 1832, the Reply had been in circulation for more than twenty years.

The 1834 edition of Drake's *Book of the Indians* gives yet another paragraph included in one version of the address.

> Brother, if you white men murdered the Son of the Great Spirit, we Indians had nothing to do with it, and it is none of our affair. If he had come among us, we would not have killed him; we would have treated him well. You must make amends for that crime yourselves.

A later edition of Drake includes this passage, but identifies it as a remark made by Red Jacket to a Rev. Mr. Brackenridge rather than as part of the Reply to Cram.

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Christopher Densmore has done an excellent job of ferreting out sources I was unable to find myself. He certainly disproves Stone's contention, and mine, that Bemis is "the first edition." And we may not be done with sources yet — at the Speech Communication Association convention in Chicago, November 15, 1986, I heard Mary Ann Censki (of the University of Wisconsin, Madison) assert in a paper that Red Jacket's Reply was first published in the *National Intelligencer.*

We are left in all the above cases, however, with that mysterious "gentleman" from Canandaigua who is the source of all the texts and whom I may have been lucky enough to identify in my article. We are also left with the question of why this speech was so eminently "publishable." What secret white man's agenda was Red Jacket unconsciously addressing to make so many people print what he had to say? If Cram really was the sympathetic character Densmore seems to suggest, then someone was conducting a real disinformation campaign. I would love to know why our Canandaigua gentleman went to so much trouble. In a recent conversation with me, Densmore said that it all might have to do with the Quakers, who wanted to prove the Indians had as much access to the "inner light" as anyone. If this can be established, then the publication history of texts like the Reply can lead to a greater understanding of the relationships between religious denominations on the early frontier.

I'm glad that Densmore accepts the text in the Bemis edition as an accurate transmission. The textual accuracy of the Reply, of course, was my major concern. It troubles me, though, that the Reply seems now to have been preserved not for any aesthetic reason but because it made a rhetorical point in someone else's doctrinal dispute. I wonder how much other Native American material has been preserved for a similar reason. And I wonder what lore has been lost simply because it didn't fit into a white man's argument.

One final matter: I am very interested in the person Densmore identifies as "Dr. Brackenridge." This appears to be John Breckenridge, whom Stone identifies as one of his major informants. I have been told, unfortunately without substantiation, that this is the same John Breckenridge who served as a minister and subsequently died in Danville, KY. If any readers can provide me with more information, I would be most appreciative.

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Editor's Year-End Report (Sept. 1986-Aug. 1987)

presented to the Annual Meeting of the
New York Folklore Society, Syracuse, NY
September 25-27, 1987

Highlights of the year. Vol. XIII, Nos. 1-2, a special issue on migrant workers, guest-edited by Editorial Board member Mary A. Twining, was published on schedule, in May. Partly due to the Editor's sabbatical leave and rehabilitation from open knee ligament surgery, a serious oversight in planning caused this issue to be far larger than planned (185 pp.), and to far exceed its publication budget. A small grant ($2500) from the Folk Arts program of the New York State Council on the Arts helped defray expenses; and a vast marketing effort was undertaken, primarily through migrant education and health services around the country, with the help of the staff of the BOCES-Geneseo Migrant Center, whose programs were the focus of the issue. But sales of the issue, at $10 each, have been slow so far, and the Editor and Board determined that the Fall issue should be shorter than average, and that publication of it should be delayed until late November or early December, to ease the strain on the treasury. The Editor sought other cost-cutting measures, to be mentioned below.

The second issue for 1987 (Nos. 3-4, Fall) was to have featured a special collection of papers on industrial folklore, guest edited by Erie County Folklorist Mia Boynton, but that project has been postponed until 1988. Instead, the Fall issue will carry reports of a NYSCA-funded project, "Folk Arts-in-Education in New York State," as a special section guest-edited by Kathy Mundell, Folklorist for Rockland County. Some Articles, Notes, and Reviews will be included. The Special Section will be off-printed and bound for a separate marketing effort, primarily among schools across the State.

A massive membership drive was conducted from the Editorial Office, and over 5000 of the Society's flyers and notices of special offerings were mailed. The American Folklore Society kindly gave us about 1300 labels for its US individual members, in exchange for our agreeing to try and obtain 5 new memberships (at $30) for them. A special mailing was designed for this group. The whole effort was quite successful; total membership by the end of August was over 550, and sales of various back issues were good.

To reduce costs, the journal's account was transferred from Ansel Press of Buffalo to Partners' Press of Kenmore, NY, to commence with the Fall issue. Ansel Press had printed the journal since the second issue of 1984 and had always done a very satisfactory job; a number of considerations persuaded the Editor that a relationship with Partners' would be more economical. One factor was technological; Partners' was equipped to receive journal copy on computer discs by direct telephone transfer. The Editor employed an advanced graduate student, Barton M. Brown, to set the Fall issue on discs for direct transfer to the printers.

The Editor is sad to lose the services of Robert Roush, who worked as Editorial Assistant, funded through the College Work Study program, since June 1985. Robert completed his Master's degree in musical composition over the summer, and has gone on to pursue his career. A special tribute to him appears in the Winter 1987 *New York Folklore Newsletter.*

The non-editorial tasks now undertaken by the Editorial Office, including storage of and filling orders for back issues, distribution of both the journal and the newsletter, marketing, and more, have become too burdensome, and now hinder the efficiency of journal production. The Editor's 5-year term expires the end of 1988. He has presented the Executive Board with details of tasks that should be re-located during 1988, preparatory to his consideration of continuing as Editor for a second term.

Assistance. The Editor has one work study student assistant, Karen Overton, who worked with Robert Roush during 1986-87, and who can give 6 hours per week to the Editorial Office. Occasionally extra workers were employed as "temporary service," primarily to assist with preparation of bulk mailings. The Editor thanks Laura McClusky and Franceyn Secor for such services.

Thanks also to Catherine Schwoeffermann, of the Roberson Center, Binghamton, and to Mitzie Collins of Rochester, for supplying mailing labels for our membership drive.

The following persons graciously and competently reviewed manuscripts: Robert Bethke, Jan Brunvand, Varick Chittenden, Lydia Fish, Kelsie Harder, Bruce Jackson, Ben Nelson, W.F.H. Nicolaisen, and Ted Steegmann.

Manuscripts. Fifteen volunteered papers were received. Four were accepted after revisions, eight were rejected, three were still pending revisions. Other manuscripts were solicited by the Guest Editors.

Sales. Sales of most back issues have done very well, thanks to energetic publicity. We are particularly watching three issues: "Buffalo" (Vol. X, Nos. 1-2, 1984) sales netted $769.50 in the period, 9/86-8/87; total sales since publication in June 1985 total $5451.00, at $10 per copy. Discounts to individuals are rarely allowed on this very successful issue. Fifty-seven copies of the "Folk Arts" issue (XI, 1-2, 1986) have sold since publiction in June 1986, at $12, $10, and $9, netting $534.00. The "Migrant" issue has sold 50 copies since May 1987, at $9 and $10, totaling $472.50, as of the end of August 1987.

Future Issues. Vol. XIV, 1-2, Spring 1988 will contain Mia Boynton's collection of papers on industrial folklore, as a guest-edited special section of 6-7 papers and two commentaries, and a few other items.

Vol. XIV, Nos. 3-4, Fall 1988 will be a unique special issue, "Folk Music in New York State: A Sampler." Three qualified ethnomusicologists, Nancy Groce, Ray Allen, and Michael Licht, will serve as Co-Editors. Invitations have been extended to more than twenty specialists to write short discussions of specific musical traditions, and to supply bibliographies and discographies for each. A proposal will be submitted to NYSCA, Folk Arts Program, for financial support of this project.

A special issue planned for 1989 will focus on "Folklore in New York City."

Other matters. An inventory of back issues is nearly complete. Efforts to sell early issues brought few orders, and the archives have been bulging with hundreds of copies of some numbers from the late 1940s and early 1950s. After long and painful deliberation, many hundreds of early issues were discarded, bringing the maximum holdings per issue of *New York Folklore Quarterly* to 70. Even that number may have to be reduced in the future. It is especially unfortunate that many issues are totally lacking.

The Editor concludes his report by reiterating his plea that more people take on some of the jobs now carried by a few.

Respectfully submitted,
P.S., Jr.

NEW YORK FOLKLORE

Editorial Policy and Information for Contributors

Manuscripts submitted to the Editor should represent original contributions to folklore studies. While maintaining an emphasis on the folklore of New York State, the Editor welcomes material based on the folklore of any area of the world. Articles contributing to the theory, methodology, and geography of folklore are especially welcome, but the journal also publishes purely descriptive articles in the ethnography of folklore, and provides a home for "orphan" tales, narratives, songs, etc. Contributors of the latter are urged to provide as much contextual information as possible. Such material, as well as short articles, comments, research reports, etc., may be published as Folklore Notes.

Articles normally should not exceed 7,500 words. The most recent Style Guide and statement of Editorial Policy appears in Vol. XIII, Nos. 3-4, Winter-Spring 1987, or is available from the Editor. All material should be typed double-spaced on opaque white non-erasable paper. A separately-typed abstract of about 75 words should accompany each Article or item intended as a Note. Tables should appear separately from the text, numbered consecutively. The original and two copies of all textual and tabular material should be submitted. Text figures (drawings, charts, maps, photographs) should be clean and ready for publication. The original ms. and text figures will be returned if accompanied by sufficient first-class postage.